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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

H 1948 VOLUME XXXVII, NO. 3

MODERNIZING STATE CONSTITUTIONS

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The League's Business

Clinton Rogers Woodruff

Clinton Rogers Woodruff, first secretary of the National Municipal League and first editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, died January 24 in his home in Philadelphia at the age of 79.

Mr. Woodruff played a principal part, with the cooperation of civic leaders in Philadelphia, New York and other cities, in issuing a call for a National Conference on Good City Government in Philadelphia on January 25 and 26, 1894. At this meeting plans were made for the establishment of the National Municipal League, which was formally organized in New York in May of the same year.

In addition to his League work, Mr. Woodruff led an active life as a practicing attorney and in public service. He was attorney for various committees prosecuting election frauds, and at various times was president of the Registration Commission, member of the Civil Service Commission, assistant city solicitor and director of welfare, all in Philadelphia, of which he was a life-long resident. He was twice elected to the Pennsylvania state legislature. Mr. Woodruff was also active as a layman in the affairs of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Retiring as League secretary in 1920, when he was succeeded by Dr. Harold W. Dodds, Mr. Woodruff remained honorary secretary for some years. His final contribution to the REVIEW was an article on the League's formation and early years which appeared in the fiftieth anniversary issue of November 1944. In that article he expressed regret that he had never had time to carry out his intention to write a history of the League, and wrote:

"To have been associated from its conception with this nation-wide effort to place American cities on a firmer and more honorable basis, to have been present at its birth, to have shared in its growth, was an opportunity such as can come to few men and for which I have always been deeply grateful."

Hoboken Survey Completed

An administrative and financial survey of Hoboken, New Jersey, by the League's Consultant Service was completed at the end of 1947 by Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed. Copies of the report were delivered to the commissioners of the city on February 3.

The report created quite a furore. After a week of silence by the city administration and numerous futile efforts by the League of Women Voters and other local civic groups to obtain copies, it leaked to the press with hints that for some reason the commissioners were attempting to conceal the report, the opening sentence of which said: "The people of Hoboken have been robbed."

At its meeting February 17, Mayor Fred M. De Sapio accused Dr. Reed of being "unethical" in telling the newspapers about the report. The following day Alfred Willoughby, the League's executive secretary, issued what the *Jersey Journal* called a "sharply worded" statement rebuking the mayor and stating that Dr. Reed had given no information to the newspapers.

Detailing the baneful effects of boss rule in Hoboken during the more than twenty years of the McFeely dynasty, the report recommended the reduction of the city's payroll of 714 persons to 446 and possible economies of $528,000. The survey included an examination of all of the departments except education.

John W. Nowland

John W. Nowland, the REVIEW's state correspondent for Delaware, died on February 20 in Wilmington. Mr. Nowland recently resigned as director of the Tax Research Bureau of the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce to enter private business. Previously he had been executive director of the Tax Research Bureau of Utica, New York.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Everybody's Business

NEVER before have so many states at one time been reconsidering their fundamental laws. In at least fifteen, constitutional revision is under way or being actively urged by political and civic leaders. This does not count Hawaii and Alaska, the two candidates for the honor of becoming the 49th state.

In short, American government is going through one of its great formative periods. What the people do with their state constitutions during the next five years may have as much influence on the future of our system as what they did during the first great period of constitution-making after 1776. This makes revision of state constitutions public business of first-rate importance—for all the people of all the states.

The people of each state have a vital stake in the quality of government in every state. Democratic federalism may be the only answer to the strong trend toward centralized dictatorships. The test of our federalism is not in the power and glory of the central government but in the vitality and effectiveness of the state and local units which make it up.

The current revival of interest in state and local government and the unprecedented effort to modernize constitutions and charters indicate that there still is plenty of life in the grass roots of our system. Whether this revival will prove only a flash in the pan or the beginning of a more vigorous democracy will depend on how resolutely and intelligently the people carry through. It would be a grave mistake to underestimate the dangers and consequences of failure.

Almost every state, except possibly those that have just gone through revision, desperately needs a new constitution. Few state constitutions ever were much good and fewer still have been fitted to the modern age of machine production, big cities and fast travel and communication.

The new American republic almost fell to pieces between the end of the Revolution and the adoption of the present constitution of the United States. The disintegration was due not only to the lack of a sufficiently strong federal government but also to the incompetence and irresponsibility of the individual state governments.

The country was saved in 1789 not by the strengthening of the states but by covering them over with the protective tent of a stronger union. Although important changes have been made in state constitutions since that time, they have not produced a single document which approaches the federal constitution as a basis for responsible and effective government.

Here are some of the fatal weaknesses common to most state constitutions today:

1. A disintegrated executive branch, unable to provide responsible ad-

ministration of the increasingly extensive and important services of modern government.

2. Complicated court systems manned by judges elected or appointed on terms which militate against the independence of traditional Anglo-Saxon justice and against the efficiency in administration required for the satisfactory performance of modern judicial business.

3. Bicameral legislatures almost impervious to reapportionment to meet shifts in population, especially the shift to the cities.

4. Limitations on legislative power which have so hog-tied state governments that the people are forced to turn to Washington for prompt and effective action on matters which should be handled locally.

5. Detailed provisions concerning county and other local governments which have seriously impeded the modern movement for home rule.

6. Inclusion in state constitutions of a mass of statutory details put there because of a fundamental distrust of the government of the day. Results have been the entrenchment of more and more vested interests and a blurring of the distinction between constitutional and statute law which has confused the public and stymied healthy progress in law and government.

7. A long and indigestible ballot for the election of numerous state, county and local officers, including judges, which gives the voter an impossible and therefore disheartening task. This is a principal cause of public apathy and the substitution of government by private manipulators for government by the people.

8. Fantastic provisions for amendment and revision which in some cases have practically deprived the people of access to their basic law and in others have invited too frequent, even frivolous, changes.

This is an appalling indictment. One might reasonably ask, "How has our system survived?" The answer, already given, is that it could not have survived except by virtue of the federal government and at the expense of an unhealthy tendency to rely more and more upon Washington to compensate for failures at the state capitol and city hall.

The time is very late for a reversal of this trend but the signs in an increasing number of states indicate that it is still not too late. The next five or ten years may tell the story. The states *can* be rehabilitated and our federal system put on a firmer foundation than it has ever had. But this will require great determination on the part of citizens and civic leaders and rare statesmanship which disregards petty political and personal advantages on the part of public officials.

The discipline and determination required are surely not so great as those now demanded of the people of Great Britain and of other countries devastated and depleted by war. But the very fact that America is prosperous and intact means that we must display a political maturity remarkable, if not unprecedented, in human history in order to do what we must do.

Road-Blocks to Conventions

Three hurdles stand in the way of 'modernizing the archaic and organizing the chaotic'—legal, political, psychological.

By WILBERT L. HINDMAN*

IT IS commonplace to point out that America is the land of the written constitution, and that we have had some two hundred constitutional conventions since the revolution. This statement is generally made in a spirit of complacency, not to say smugness.

Actually, it is a remarkable achievement that the number of constitutional assemblies in this country has reached such a substantial total. For in order to be held at all, constitutional conventions must overcome a host of interrelated hurdles, ranging from the legal through the political to the psychological.

One result is that, despite all the revisions which have taken place, there are many state constitutions in substantial need of modification and rewriting. These include the famous unamended document of Tennessee and California's constitutional colossus. (Alas for Hollywood—we have to concede to Louisiana the right to use the term "supercolossal" in describing that state's basic law.) The instances of Tennessee and California are typical demonstrations that constitutional change is needed both to modernize the archaic and to organize the chaotic.

If the need for revision can be regarded as self-evident in many states, the three factors which stand in the way of change—legal, political and psychological—require careful analysis.

Without commenting upon the elaborate legal restrictions imposed in many states on submission of individual amendments, it is important to note that the question of calling a constitutional convention may be submitted to the people in nineteen states only after a two-thirds vote of the legislature, and in four states a majority of all the legislators must support such a measure. In ten states ordinary majorities suffice and in eight there must be submission of the question at definite intervals, ranging from seven to twenty years.

Interestingly enough, twelve states have no specific provisions in their constitutions for calling conventions. It is now generally held in these states that authority to establish conventions exists, stemming from the provisions found in many bills of rights asserting that the people may "alter their government as they deem proper."

Actually more important than legal limitations, although related to them, are political barriers to conventions. The precise nature of these

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obstacles will differ in each state, but it is important to understand that substantial political opposition to constitutional change exists everywhere and will, if possible, take advantage of any and all legal impediments to revision of the basic law. Minority groups hostile to constitutional modernization are greatly fortified by any requirement of a two-thirds vote in each house of a legislature as a prerequisite to submitting the question to the people.

While political opposition to constitutional change varies from state to state, one may safely generalize to the extent of asserting that change will be opposed by interest groups afforded special protection in the existing basic law. Such groups are easily discerned where tax limits are severe, where taxes are earmarked by constitutional fiat for such specific purposes as highway construction, or where there is inadequate constitutional support for existing regulations. Groups profiting from such weaknesses will fight change with every device at their command. On the one hand they will fall back upon legal restrictions and on the other hand they will use every technique they can muster to bolster a psychology which will defeat reform.

One political problem in many states is the relationship between the reapportionment issue and constitutional revision. Domination of legislatures by minorities in the rural areas is the order of the day in virtually all states, even those which are principally industrial and urban in composition.

Agricultural ascendancy was but fair and equitable in the nineteenth century, and of course no one in that period argued that the minorities who lived in cities had any superior right to majority representation in one or both houses of the legislature.

In the twentieth century, however, refrigeration and rapid transit enabled the metropolis to override Malthus, and great cities burgeoned into fantastic growth. Men alive today—and not remarkably old at that—can remember when Los Angeles, now America's fourth city, had, in 1880, only 12,000 people.

Reapportionment Problem

The rise of the city has been acknowledged reluctantly or not at all in state legislative representation. Reapportionment has largely ignored the facts of life as revealed by census figures. Rural folk have tried to justify their retention of legislative dominance by falling back on Jefferson's libel concerning city people as "sores on the body politic." This rural rationalization of its superiority to urban majorities is unconvincing. While nothing can be done about it in many cases, let's not pretty up rural machine domination of cities by pretending it is either benevolent or disinterested.

To be realistic, however, we must concede that we are really up against it on this issue. One way around the problem in relation to conventions is the 1947 New Jersey procedure, which excluded reapportionment from consideration. It is ordinarily the case, however, that

constitutional conventions are made up of members elected or otherwise chosen from existing legislative districts. Often these are senate districts, which are most completely based upon scenery rather than population. Where this is true, the rural voice will be strong enough in a convention to cry down urban insistence upon the creation of representative assemblies.

Protected by assured majorities, therefore, rural interests are thus not everywhere hostile to conventions from fear of losing their power in legislative affairs. The most that can be expected of a constitutional convention at present seems to be that more of the industrial states at least will assent to the plan finally established in California which gives the people some measure of representation in accordance with numbers in the lower house of the legislature while retaining pastoral predominance in the senate.

It must be stressed at this point that the district system of choosing delegates, even if supplemented as in New York and Missouri by a number of delegates chosen at large, not only overweights the convention in favor of the rural elements—upstate, downstate, or outstate as the case may be—but in any event makes no provision, except by chance, for the representation of the principal interests of the state. So long as the legislatures cannot cope directly with this problem of interest group, or functional representation, it is of course too much to expect it to be solved in constitutional conventions.

Conventions commonly operate under closer public scrutiny than legislatures do, however, and they also tend to bring out in the delegates an unusually strong sense of public responsibility. This means that the excesses of the lobby are more likely to be restrained at conventions, while the services of the lobby such as affording useful technical as well as political information, are likely to be given full play.

It might be mentioned in passing that at least partial functional representation in constitutional revision is most likely to be secured under present circumstances through the creation of appointive constitutional commissions. Appointments to these commissions, however, seem to go largely to lawyers who may or may not represent points of view beyond those of their vocation.

A Legislative Committee

In California a resolution of the 1947 legislature, providing for appointment of ten assemblymen and ten senators to a Legislative Constitutional Revision Committee, provides also for an advisory committee of lay citizens. This large advisory group, which includes among others many of the interest group spokesmen who in any event would work with the revision committee informally if not formally, seems a realistic recognition that the people will insist on a functional voice in policy matters, as well as a regional or population voice. The lobby, contentious or constructive as the case may be, will be needed and should be heeded so long as popular ratification is the order of the day.

The psychological barrier to conventions is made up again of a num-

ber of attitudes. On the one hand there is the citizen who has the approach indicated in Kentucky: "If it was good enough for grandfather it is good enough for me." Related to this is the point of view reported from Missouri in the slogan: "Why rewrite the Bible?" There was an example of this in the Los Angeles press recently, where one newspaper argued that California did not need constitutional revision. After all, it said, the state has grown big (that's our chief criterion of success, of course) under the 1879 constitution, and certainly its 256 amendments have kept it up to date!

People Are Conservative

Another psychological obstacle, and probably the major one, is mistrust of the people themselves. That sounds strange in a democracy but it is true. This is simply to ignore history, however, for the record of constitutional change in this country shows that if there is one thing above all else calculated to bring out in the electorate a sense of cautious responsibility, it is the selection of delegates to a constitutional convention.

The people will not support moves for revision of basic law on trivial grounds, nor will they ordinarily approve a constitution that embodies matters currently regarded as radical or unsound. Although the written constitution itself was a radical and experimental device at the time of the American Revolution, today the people will not depart too markedly from the basic constitutional pattern established in any state. Professor McIlwain refers to constitutions as the "appeal from the people drunk to the people sober," and the public adopts a temperate attitude toward all aspects of constitution-making.

So, whatever the fears may be in some quarters that constitutional conventions may produce a document tinged with pink instead of red, white and blue, the principal psychological fact about such conventions is that they are constrained by the community and the dignity of their responsibility to be sincere, cautious and moderate. This, rather than ill-advised mechanical impediments to change, is the greatest check on unwarranted constitutional revision.

I am thoroughly in favor of provisions permitting the people to call constitutional conventions with reasonable ease and frequency. The people in each generation are entitled to solve their own political problems, or even to make their own mistakes, rather than to be saddled with the errors of the past or suffer from the consequences of the fact that no earlier convention, however distinguished its membership, possessed divine omniscience.

Not only, then, do most constitutional provisions for calling conventions require liberalization, but a decision of the people favoring a convention should be supported by a self-executing clause clearly setting forth the essentials involved in electing and holding the gathering.

This is stressed in the *Model State Constitution*,[1] and absence of

(Continued on page 144)

[1]National Municipal League.

Convention or Commission?

New Jersey's constitutional revision experiences with popularly elected delegates and appointed group compared.

By BENNETT M. RICH*

CONSTITUTIONAL revision is a live issue in at least a third of the states. In many the problem of how to obtain constitutional reform obscures, and in some instances seems to outweigh, the substantive issues.

One procedural device, the appointive constitutional commission, has been seized upon during the past few years by California, Georgia, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey and Tennessee as the means to achieve revision. This procedure is not new. The constitutional commission has been used for almost a century.

Ordinarily the commission has its origin in a resolution of the legislature authorizing appointment of a small group by the chief executive, or jointly by the governor and the legislature, to consider constitutional revision in whole or in part.

A variation of this procedure is for the governor on his own authority to appoint a commission. Michigan's 32-member commission of 1942 was appointed in this manner.

Another variation is for the legislature to act without reference to the governor at all. California's Legislative Constitutional Revision Committee of 1947, made up of ten assemblymen and ten senators, illustrates this type.

Proponents of the appointive commission cite an impressive list of advantages:

1. The commission is inexpensive.
2. It is small, permitting informal discussion and thorough deliberation.
3. Experts and outstanding public and private leaders of the state can be selected without being forced to seek election to a constitutional convention.
4. The commission is not so susceptible to political pressures and to logrolling as a convention.
5. It can work more expeditiously than a convention.
6. It can study more effectively the experiences of other states.
7. Since continuous sessions are not held the commission has greater opportunity to reflect on problems.
8. The final product of the commission is superior to that of a convention.[1]

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the case history of the 1941-2 constitutional commission in New Jersey and to compare its proposals to the new constitution drawn

*Dr. Rich is assistant professor in the Department of History and Political Science at Rutgers University. He is author of *The Presidents and Civil Disorder*, a 1941 Brookings Institution publication. This article is based on Dr. Rich's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, November 14, 1947.

[1]See W. Brooke Graves, *American State Government* (3rd edition), page 76; Arthur W. Bromage, *State Government and Administration*, page 82.

up in convention at Rutgers University, June 12—September 10, 1947. New Jersey, incidentally, has had greater experience with the commission than any other state. Of 24 known commissions in fourteen states, seven were in New Jersey.[2]

The first constitutional commission in New Jersey was created by joint resolution in 1852, two decades before that of any other state. Its purpose was to amend the constitution "in its entire system of legal and equitable jurisprudence." This limited commission of three persons appointed by the governor failed in its objective.

Commission's Activities

The seven-man commission appointed in 1941 was composed of a county freeholder and a judge appointed by the speaker of the House, a state senator and the director of the Princeton Surveys, appointed by the president of the Senate, a state senator and a prominent legal and political figure appointed by Governor Charles Edison, and the editor of a leading newspaper, chosen by the six appointed members. The commission appointed a secretary and two assistants, one in public relations and one in research and drafting. All three non-members participated in discussions.

The commission first considered its approach to the problem, whether to propose a series of amendments or to draft a new document. Because of the number of amendments involved and the difficulty of working them into the old constitution, it was decided to draft a new constitution—notwithstanding the realization that authorization for preparation of a draft constitution was lacking in the law creating the commission.

The commission did most of its work at the University Club in New York, where the members spent Friday afternoons and evenings and Saturday mornings and afternoons over a three-months period in intensive study. It held no public hearings although it invited written suggestions and on a few occasions persons were asked to testify. Technical assistance was furnished by the Princeton Surveys. The commission report was issued in May 1942.

The legislature blocked the commission's suggestion that a public referendum be held on the question of permitting the legislature to submit a revised constitution at the general election of 1942. Instead, it held lengthy hearings and came to the conclusion that because of the war it was inadvisable to do anything.

A year later, as a result of pressure from Walter E. Edge, Republican candidate for governor, the legislature placed before the people the proposal that it sit as a constitutional convention. The proposal carried by a large majority in the general election of 1943.

The legislature then dusted off

[2]New Jersey 1852, 1854, 1873, 1881, 1894, 1905, 1941-2; California 1929; Georgia 1943; Michigan 1873, 1942; Maine 1875; North Carolina 1913, 1932; New York 1872-3, 1890; Pennsylvania 1919-20; Rhode Island 1897, 1912; Tennessee 1946; Vermont 1908-10; Virginia 1927; Washington 1934; West Virginia 1929. In addition, commissions are presently at work in Minnesota and California.

the commission report and, after certain modifications, presented the proposed constitution to the people in November 1944. This constitution was defeated after a bitter partisan battle.

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll revived the issue and, in his inaugural address in January 1947, called for a limited convention, popularly elected. At the primary election on June 3 the people approved a convention and selected 81 delegates. The convention met at Rutgers University on June 12 and by September 10 had drafted a new document. On November 4, 1947, the new constitution was accepted by an overwhelming majority, to become effective January 1, 1948.[3]

Commission's Influence

In attempting to assess the impact of the 1941-2 commission upon the new constitution, it should be pointed out that not every proposal made by the commission and later made a part of the new constitution may fairly be attributed to the commission's influence.

New Jersey's constitution had been subjected to no substantial change since 1875, when a series of amendments were adopted. These amendments, incidentally, were proposed by one of the state's seven commissions, the only one, in fact, whose efforts were crowned with almost complete success.

In the years following 1875 the need for certain changes was more or less taken for granted. For example, the casual observer, as well as the student of government, tended to accept the principle of a longer term for members of the legislature. New Jersey stood out like a sore thumb in its retention of annual elections. Changes of this character probably would have been made under any plan for revision.

There can be little doubt, however, that the proposals of the commission of 1941-42 made a deep impression on the thinking of the 1947 convention delegates.

First of all, the language of the two in some respects is identical. The legislative article of the commission report recognized the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. The Bill of Rights of the new constitution states that persons in private employment shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively, and that persons in public employment shall have the right to organize and make known their grievances through representatives of their own choosing.

The commission report's prohibition on the legislative election or appointment of any executive, administrative or judicial officers is carried into the new constitution almost verbatim, as are prohibitions on certain special laws.

The commission's recommendation that gubernatorial elections be held in odd-numbered years is carried over; so also are the clauses authorizing the governor to investigate state officers and to appoint all officers whose election is not otherwise provided by law. Numerous other instances might be cited.

But a follow-up of language is

[3] See also the REVIEW, September 1947, page 452; October 1947, page 513; and December 1947, page 633.

obviously much less important than a follow-up of basic ideas. Here the influence of the commission is in some respects quite pronounced. Probably the most important carry-over is in the judiciary article where the basic principles of court unification and centralized administration were recommended by the commission. Vehemently denounced in 1942, these ideas were accepted without much argument in 1947.

The similarity in the drafts is not accidental, for the authors of the proposed judicial system in 1942 were to a substantial degree the authors of the judicial article in the new constitution. To the commission must go a major share of the credit for this, the most far-reaching change made by the new constitution. Five years of discussion, climaxed by extensive public hearings in 1942, 1943 and 1947, brought minor changes, of course—some good, some bad.

Executive Provisions

The commission set the stage also for administrative reform by giving the governor wide powers to reorganize the state's sprawling administrative structure. The challenge which they threw out was accepted only partially by the convention. The commission proposed that the governor be authorized to allocate, by executive order, all agencies among nine named departments.

The convention balked at this as being a usurpation of the legislative function and adopted instead the proposal that only if the legislature refused to act by a given time should the governor act. Even then he was limited to presenting to the legislature, in a special session, his plans for reorganization.

In the matter of appointing department heads also, the convention was unwilling to take the commission's advanced position. Rather than permit the governor to appoint single executives to head all departments, the convention made possible the preservation of certain politically powerful commission-governed agencies by providing that all departments should be headed by a single executive "unless otherwise provided by law."

The commission's proposals were in some cases more advanced than the corresponding provisions of the new constitution. For example, the commission's draft allowed the legislature to provide for absentee voting at any time. The new constitution prohibits civilian absentee voting by its assertion that the legislature may provide for absentee voting by the military in peacetime. Also the legislative council was spelled out by the commission while the new constitution is silent on the subject.

In a surprising number of instances the proposals of the commission were less advanced than the position adopted by the convention. Outstanding failures of the commission to represent the best thinking were its recommendations: (1) prohibiting a second term for the chief executive and (2) requiring limited biennial sessions of the legislature.

The commission repeated a mistake in the old constitution by proposing a definite sum, $1,500, to be paid legislators. It provided for the

election of the treasurer, as well as the comptroller, by the legislature. It named the departments among which the administrative agencies were to be allocated. It retained as constitutional officers the county clerk, sheriff, surrogate and coroner. The coroner, incidentally, is not mentioned in the new constitution.

The commission's proposal for amending the constitution was less advanced than the hesitating forward step taken in the new constitution.

In some instances the commission took no action at all despite obvious need. The $100,000 debt limitation was retained, for example, notwithstanding the growth of the state's budget from $100,000 in 1844 to $150,000,000 a hundred years later.

The commission is open to criticism for an undiplomatic display of political one-sidedness. Membership of the commission consisted only of anti-Hague representatives.

Hague Offended

When the report was released, the Hague faction took immediate offense at certain clauses which, they argued, were specifically designed to harass them. One would have overthrown a decision of the Hague-dominated top court, which seriously hampered the legislature in its efforts to investigate cities. Another would have denied a position on the new Supreme Court to Hague's son, by requiring ten years' experience as a member of the bar. At the time the report was issued he was a member of the top court, having been appointed by the previous governor because "it would please his daddy."

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the commission was in its failure to question, let alone attack, what were referred to in the recent convention as the "hot potatoes" of the constitution. The convention was prohibited by law from considering the problem of rural versus urban representation in the legislature—people versus acres. There was no prohibition upon the commission, but the problem was untouched. Nor was the true value tax clause disturbed. This requirement that property be assessed at true value had for years been a subject of intense controversy. The clause on gambling, which permitted big time betting at horse races yet forbade a church or firemen's bingo game, was unchanged.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the commission report was something less than a complete overhauling of the constitution. It attacked vigorously and well certain of the basic weaknesses of the constitution. Much credit is due the commission for its work on the executive and the courts. On the other hand, its omission of important problems, its obvious effort to embarrass the Hague forces, its outdated proposals, its avoidance of controversial issues—all these must be placed to the debit side of its ledger.

On the credit side, however, in addition to the commission's substantive contributions must be recorded its educational value. The commission report was a challenge. It kept the revision issue alive. It set more people to talking about the constitution. It stepped up the

educational campaign to make the people constitution-conscious. Had it not been for the commission, it is doubtful whether New Jersey would have a new constitution or one so far ahead of the old as it has today.

The weaknesses revealed in the commission report are not peculiar to New Jersey. In actual practice, few commissions measure up to expectations. Their members appear to be subject to the same prejudices and the same political pressures as the members of a legislature or a convention.

But beyond these natural human failings, the commission has one inherent and fatal weakness; its every act is measured in terms of what the legislature will accept. The members of the New Jersey commission realized full well the futility of making any recommendations whatever on some of the most controversial issues.

Convention Zealous

The recent convention was under no such handicap. Fired with an extraordinary zeal to produce a progressive constitution and put an end to seven years of bickering, the delegates worked vigorously and with an unusual degree of harmony. Then, having completed their task, they appropriated a considerable part of the money set aside for the convention to publicize the new constitution. More than that, the delegates themselves worked arduously after the convention adjourned to sell the new document to the people.

All this is beyond the appointive commission. The acceptance or rejection of its proposals is strictly a legislative matter. The commission can pressure the legislature by stirring up public interest through timely press and radio releases. The New Jersey commission did precisely that. Citizens' organizations helped out. But it was not enough. The fact that the commission must report to the legislature is almost certain to be an insurmountable handicap to thorough-going revision.

Nor do many of the advantages claimed for the commission stand up under analysis. A commission is inexpensive, for example, only if its efforts prove successful. The appropriation for the New Jersey commission of 1941-42 was only $5,000; the appropriation for the convention was $350,000. But the one failed; the other succeeded.

The ultimate tests of a commission are: (1) the quality of the final product and (2) the success or failure of the effort. Professor Dodd, writing in 1910, said that "the constitutional commission is useful under proper limitations as an advisor of the legislative bodies, but should not be employed . . . to make a complete constitutional revision through legislative proposal."[4]

Professor Dealey, writing in 1915, makes the much stronger statement that "as a substitution for a convention, for revision purposes, it has so far proved to be a flat failure."[5] There seems to be little reason to modify their pronouncements. A state contemplating over-all re-

[4]Walter F. Dodd, *Revision and Amendment of State Constitutions,* page 264.
[5]James Q. Dealey, *Growth of American State Constitutions,* page 145.

vision is courting disaster if it relies exclusively upon the commission.

The commission is not without merit, however. As a device for recommending incidental changes, especially those of a technical character, its record is better. Georgia illustrates the recent successful use of the commission as a means of effecting fairly numerous and important modifications short of a general revision. Governor Arnall, who writes glowingly of the commission, observes nevertheless that if a wholly new constitution were to be written, "the commission method would be undesirable and, perhaps, impractical."[6]

The commission has a second function, the importance of which has not been sufficiently appreciated. The commission can be of extraordinary value in stimulating public discussion of constitutional issues and of helping in the formation of policy. This was the one great value of the New Jersey commission. If the commission were freed of the fear of a legislative veto of its proposals, it would be in a position to perform a valuable service for the state.

This restriction could be achieved simply by an understanding that the commission was being created as a preliminary to, and not as a substitute for, a constitutional convention. The commission would then have an opportunity to raise the constitutional sights of the people and of the subsequent convention. This suggestion is predicated upon the hypothesis that the commission genuinely desires constitutional reform. That this may not be correct is demonstrated by Tennessee's disappointing experience in 1946 when the commission recommended that the legislature call a convention to revise only those limited sections of the constitution selected by the commission.

[6]Ellis Arnall, "25 Study Georgia Basic Law," the REVIEW, January 1944, page 12.

An Educational Device

Aside from its use as a device for recommending incidental changes, the chief asset of the commission is educational in nature. It can be used to explore the subject of revision, to examine the best thinking and experience of the country, to assist in stimulating popular discussion, and in formulating and crystallizing public opinion. If the commission is used to perform these services, rather than to act as a substitute for a convention, it can help the state take a firm step toward the ultimate goal of a modern constitution.

This, in the end, is what the 1941 commission did for New Jersey. To that extent the commission was a great success, although it failed in its immediate objective. In fact, it is proper to go even further and to say that the 1947 convention, with only three months in which to work, could not possibly have succeeded as it did had it not been for the commission and the five-year discussion of its work. Without the preliminaries a 1947 convention in New Jersey would certainly have needed many months and the outcome would still have been doubtful.

Blazing the Constitution Trail

Experience in six states proves value of well planned program of research to drafters of new state charter.

By KIMBROUGH OWEN*

SINCE the trail-blazing achievements of the New York Constitutional Convention Commission, in its preparation for the convention of 1915, there has been a slowly increasing recognition of the importance of systematic preparation of materials for the assistance of constitutional conventions. Five subsequent conventions have been aided by systematic preparatory research.

For the Massachusetts convention of 1917-1918 a Commission to Compile Information and Data for the Use of the Constitutional Convention was appointed. The Legislative Reference Bureau in Illinois was charged with the collection and publication of data for that state's convention in 1919.

To prepare for the New York Constitutional Convention of 1938 Governor Lehman appointed a New York State Constitutional Convention Committee. For the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1943 the University of Missouri in connection with the Statewide Committee for the Revision of the Missouri Constitution prepared a series of manuals. For the recent New Jersey Constitutional Convention the Governor's Committee on Preparatory Research did valiant work.

The experience of these six conventions indicates the value of such preparation. With the tendency toward long constitutions, convention delegates need assistance in crystallizing major issues, and they need pertinent facts for an intelligent decision on those issues. Preparation means saving in time and consequently in convention costs, but most important of all it helps to produce a better constitution.

Although the organization, resources and scope of the activities of these committees and commissions differ widely, certain conclusions seem apparent as a result of their experience. These conclusions should prove of assistance to other states considering the revision of their fundamental law.

Nonpartisan Character. The most important single characteristic of the six groups was their nonpartisan nature. The preparatory commission is not designed as a steering committee or a pressure group. Its function is the collection and collation of factual material to facilitate the convention's work. The personnel of the commission and the material it prepares must reflect this attitude.

Time and Money. Although the Legislative Reference Bureau was

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used in Illinois, special committees of the governor in New Jersey and New York (1938), committees authorized by the legislature in Massachusetts and New York (1915), and a citizens group in Missouri, the differences in organization are not so important as are the common necessities of time and money.

Only for three of these six programs did the legislature provide initial appropriations. Almost all labored under stringent limitations of time. If the work of preparation is to be of maximum effectiveness, the legislature should recognize its responsibility for providing sufficient funds and the research agency should be given adequate time to do the job properly.

Matters to Be Considered

Type of Material. Substantial agreement is represented by the six groups as to the types of material most helpful to a constitutional convention. The commissions prepared certain general materials for all members of the convention and specialized materials geared to specific problems and designed to be especially helpful to convention committees.

General materials included copies of the constitution, annotated if possible. The Massachusetts committee, for example, secured for each member of its convention a copy of the constitution of Massachusetts printed from the original parchment, vest-pocket size, bound in limp leather, with a full index and blank pages for daily memoranda.

A copy of the federal constitution and a general statement of the nature of an ideal constitution plus a summary of criticisms of the existing constitution have frequently been provided for purposes of comparison and orientation. A constitutional history of the state or an analysis of the issues presented in the previous convention has also been considered helpful.

Perhaps more useful is the attempt to assist the convention in handling problems of organization and procedure as, for example, the 1915 New York commission's monograph on the constitutional convention, *Preliminary Work, Procedures, and Submission of Conclusions,* or the Missouri *Manual for the Constitutional Convention.* The tentative rules prepared for the 1947 New Jersey convention enabled that body to complete organization for work at its first meeting. The second type of material compiled concerned specific state problems: bills of rights; suffrage and elections; revenue, finance and taxation; the executive; the legislature; the judiciary; local government.

Method of Procedure. Apparently in all cases except that of Massachusetts the committee itself assumed the responsibility of determining the problems to be selected for study. In Massachusetts the topics for investigation were selected on the basis of a poll of interested organizations and of all candidates for the constitutional convention. The New York committee of 1937-38 was organized into six subcommittees, and each of these determined its own research agenda. Among all the states there was a

recognition of the necessity of avoiding research for research's sake. An attempt was made to concentrate on the most important problems before the convention.

Three methods of presenting information to the convention have been employed. Both New York conventions were provided with printed volumes. The conventions in Illinois, Massachusetts and New Jersey were given bulletins confined generally to single subjects, ranging in number from 37 in Massachusetts and 35 in New Jersey to fifteen in Illinois. The Missouri manuals were a compromise between the printed volumes and the single bulletins.

There was general agreement that the function of the preparatory agency was the presentation of facts upon which the convention could make an intelligent decision, not the making of decisions for the convention. In the illumination of the particular problem, usually the criticisms of an existing institution were given, with historical background of the problem and the experience of other states. Alternatives were then discussed with their advantages and disadvantages.

The New York committee of 1938 appears to have provided the most comprehensive treatment of problems in this manner. The volume on the judiciary, for example, includes a historical analysis of the judiciary article of the state constitution, section by section, with pertinent provisions of former constitutions, debates in constitutional conventions, and even references to enabling legislation.

The second part of the volume is devoted to such special problems as rule making, age limits of judges, judicial review of administrative decisions, grand jury system and prosecution by indictment or information, capital punishment, the less than unanimous verdict in criminal cases, reorganization of the judicial structure, and the selection of judges.

The Massachusetts study of proportional representation may also be regarded as typical. Proportional representation is defined, a history of its development and progress in the United States is given, together with its advantages and the charges of its critics. Constitutional provisions of other states are included for comparison.

Personnel and Materials. The commissions were ingenious in utilizing free services and available materials. Services of university professors (particularly political scientists), governmental researchers and public officials and employees were extensively utilized at little if any cost. Comparative studies already available were borrowed or adapted in order to enable the greatest possible concentration on the problems of the state itself.

Aid During Convention

Activity During Convention. When the convention has assembled, the commission can still render useful service. To disband the staff is to sacrifice a source of great service to the delegates. Requests for information can be answered more readily by that organization than by specially organized convention staffs. The New York commission of 1915

was a model in this respect. It was continued throughout the duration of the convention. A close relationship existed also in Massachusetts and Illinois between the preparatory agency and the convention but this was not equally true of the others.

The experience of preparatory commissions is helpful in affording examples of organization and procedures. Of equal importance to those interested in constitutional revision, however, is the wealth of still useful material available in their publications. The discussion of general constitutional issues by the New York Constitutional Commission of 1915 in *The Revision of the State Constitution* contains materials pertinent to the problems of the present-day state. Elihu Root's discussion of "The Principles and Practice of Constitutional Revision," Henry L. Stimson's "The Principle of Responsibility in Government," Frank J. Goodnow's "The Adaptation of a Constitution to the Needs of a People," Albert Shaw's "The Problems of the Constitutional Convention," and W. F. Dodd's "The Constitutional Convention: Preliminary work, Procedure and Submission of Conclusions" should be read by everyone interested in constitutional revision.

The work of preparatory commissions is particularly helpful in connection with certain specific problems that will arise in the revision of almost any state constitution. All six commissions, for example, studied the executive budget, the initiative and referendum, the problem of county government, special legislation, civil service, and court structure. Other subjects upon which at least four of the commissions compiled data include the governor's pardoning power, frequency of legislative sessions, home rule, selection of judges, constitutional restrictions on municipal and state indebtedness, excess condemnation, judicial review of social legislation and municipal ownership.[1]

In view of this record, it seems unlikely that there will ever be another general revision of a state constitution without some systematic preparation. It cannot be too strongly emphasized, however, that it is the duty of the legislature to see that this preparation is started early enough, with enough money, to permit timely completion of a well planned and workmanlike job. Preparation for the three most recent conventions had to be started without provision by the legislature and neither the Missouri nor the New Jersey job received any appropriation. This accounts for obvious gaps in both and for the fact that some of the New Jersey monographs were not ready when the convention started.

Preparation for future conventions can be made progressively easier with a little more conscious cooperation on a national scale. As already noted, each preparatory commission has drawn heavily on the work of its predecessors. It is important, therefore, that reports of such commissions be printed in sufficient quantity to permit nationwide distribution to important li-

[1]For a list of the New Jersey studies see the REVIEW, September 1947, page 475.

braries and individuals and organizations working on similar problems. Already reports of the 1947 Governor's Committee in New Jersey are almost impossible to get because the state apparently did not consider the importance of reciprocity in this field.

Another kind of cooperation might be supplied in increasing measure by national organizations. The National Municipal League, the Council of State Governments and the Library of Congress, for example, have long supplied bibliographical and other information and services to revision bodies. All such bodies need up-to-date texts of other state constitutions and comparative data on state administrative and judicial systems, legislative organization and procedures, current proposals for reform, etc.

The ultimate justification of preparatory research is, of course, its usefulness. Experience seems to indicate that a series of relatively short pamphlets is more likely to be used by busy convention delegates than a shelf of thick volumes. The same form of publication is also more helpful to the public which, in committee hearings and lobby, plays a necessary role in any convention. Most of the material prepared for a convention, especially that dealing with specific problems of fairly broad interest, should, of course, be made available to all interested persons and organizations. This will tend to raise the level of public understanding, avoid needless controversies and save the time of the convention.

CONVENTION ROAD-BLOCKS

(Continued from page 132)

such a self-executing provision leads to the situation which has developed in California at the present time. The people of that state voted for a convention in 1934. Since the legislature has failed to take the steps necessary to put the plan in motion, its provision for the present revision committee is the closest we have come to the implementation of that mandate. Our present procedure is better than nothing in the way of revision but it is a substitute procedure none the less.

We make much these days, and rightly so, of the importance of strengthening our democracy in an era of renewed external challenge. Certainly we must do this, and one effective phase of the program is to modernize the basic laws of our states instead of letting them be diluted with statutory content or permitting them to weaken from inapplicable and dead sections which do not apply in the atomic age.

As believers in democracy we should have sufficient confidence in our own people to give them the utmost freedom to decide when to have constitutional conventions and whether or not to approve the changes recommended. This is one sure way to combine the enduring fundamentals of the past with a dynamic adjustment to the needs of today. Constitutional flexibility is fundamental in insuring a system of government responsive to constructive suggestions and therefore impregnable in the face of subversive attack.

The Convention Goes to Work

President and one of the delegates to Missouri convention describe organization and methods used to draft constitution.

By ROBERT E. BLAKE and WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW*

Mr. Blake:

THE year I spent as president of the Missouri Constitutional Convention was the most intensely interesting year of my whole life. During that time delegates to the convention were engaged in weighing principles for the government of themselves, their children and their grandchildren.

The start was, in some respects, not propitious. The delegates had met almost as 83 strangers—with the usual mental reservations and suspicions that strangers have toward one another.

The situation was not improved by the necessity of electing officers. The result was inevitable—many members were disappointed by the result of the elections and became pessimistic. The atmosphere was made worse by the rivalries and jealousies growing out of the appointment of chairmen and members of committees. This atmosphere was reflected in the newspapers which began to blast the convention.

To the credit of the convention, the members rose above these petty things and settled down to the serious work for which they had assembled.

In just a few days organization machinery was functioning admirably. The promptitude with which committees launched into the serious, sober search for enlightenment was one of the major phenomena of the convention. The newspapers observed it. Members of the convention gradually became conscious of it—and began to take pride in the earnest manner in which they were handling and dispatching their work.

Early in the sessions the committee chairmen, in conferences, established certain guiding principles which assured a fine tone and level to proceedings. For instance, they resolved to have no secret or closed meetings. If there was any such I do not know of it.

The convention determined to try to get through with no limitation on debates—no gag rule—and, while it was difficult to hold to that resolution at times, it was kept. There was not a member of the convention who, at the end, could complain of not having had free and untrammelled opportunity to voice his views.

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Many such things combined to produce and sustain a remarkably fine tone and morale in the convention. They contributed substantially toward what is generally agreed to be an excellent result.

When the convention met, each delegate knew of a dozen or so modifications or corrections in the old constitution which were desirable. It seemed that those matters—and perhaps a few others—ought to be handled in five or six months. It was perhaps fortunate that we did not know the magnitude of our job, which was to require twelve months of hard and diligent labor. We did not begin to get a conception of the size of the task until committees began to report recommendations.

Happily, this convention did not have a dominant or domineering group which was intent on "cramming things down the throats" of minorities. And so, while no member of the convention was able to endorse every provision of the new constitution without qualification, all were fairly well agreed that it was a typical result of the free but cumbersome processes of democracy—a sound composite of views, upon which all the people could agree.

On the opening day of the convention, the newly elected president ventured to sound a keynote. That keynote was "Brevity—brevity in discourse and discussion, brevity in time, and brevity in the document which we shall submit to the people." The convention accomplished all those things. The urge for brevity in discussion made it unnecessary for us to impose at any time a limitation on debate.

That the objective of "brevity in the document" was achieved to at least a degree is indicated by the fact that the old constitution was abbreviated in length by almost one-third. There were 37,000 words in the old constitution; there are not quite 26,000 words in the new.

Logical Arrangement

Withal, the new constitution has a far more logical arrangement of subject matter. In the old constitution, if one were concerned with taxation, he had to search through several different portions to find the provisions. In the new constitution all matters concerning taxation are collected together in the tax article.

This arrangement of subjects into articles where they logically belong had a material effect on one of the main problems of the convention, viz., whether to submit the constitution for adoption as a whole or submit it by separate articles. The old constitution divided the subject matter into fifteen articles, the new constitution into only twelve.

The convention decided without a dissenting vote to submit the document as a whole, not only because it felt the people would appreciate the simple task of voting for or against the whole document, but because if separate articles were submitted there was grave danger of getting a hodgepodge result.

If the people had chosen only certain articles of the new constitution, thereby leaving in effect some articles of the old, the various articles of the old and the new simply would not gear into one another because of the transpositions and rearrangements made.

For example, the new article on education would be incomplete and unsatisfactory if the new article on taxation were not adopted; and the new article on taxation would be unenforceable if the new article on the executive department were not adopted.

When the members of the convention finished the part of the job that was primarily theirs—writing the new constitution—they recognized some obligation in connection with the second part of the job—securing its adoption. Accordingly, before adjourning, the convention set up an organization to gear in with whatever citizens' organizations might be formed. With few exceptions, members of the convention served in the educational campaign.

Dr. Bradshaw

As provided in Missouri's former constitution, each of the 34 senatorial districts in the state elected one Democrat and one Republican. The fifteen delegates at large were nominated by petition and elected on a nonpartisan ballot. By agreement, the Democratic and Republican state committees each endorsed seven candidates and both committees agreed upon an anti-new deal Democrat for the fifteenth candidate.

The secretary of state placed the fifteen names of this bipartisan slate at the top of the ribbon ballot, alternating Democrats and Republicans. The entire slate was elected over a number of independent candidates but their votes varied widely. Generally, the eight having the endorsement of the League of Women Voters and other nonpartisan groups ran some 30,000 ahead of the purely partisan selections.

The convention met on call of the governor on September 21, 1943, and organized, with the anti-new deal Democrat as president, a Republican as first vice president, and a Democrat as second vice president. These three officers appointed 26 standing committees, the 26 chairmen and members of each committee being equally divided between Democrats and Republicans. The convention staff was also divided equally by the two major parties. This bipartisan plan was intended to make the convention nonpartisan in its deliberations for there is no place in a state constitution for partisan provisions. Moreover, Missouri has been a doubtful state politically since the turn of the century.

Diversified Representation

Missouri is a diversified state and the 83 delegates reflected this. Since two delegates were elected from each senatorial district, all sections of the state were represented. The delegates belonged to at least twenty different business and professional groups. A bare majority were lawyers. One delegate had been president of the Missouri Federation of Labor for some 30 years and another president of the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation for nineteen years.

A great majority of the 83 delegates had held one or more public offices. Two had served in Congress and two in the constitutional convention of 1922-23. One had been governor, one state treasurer, one speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives, one mayor of St.

Louis and one a major general in the U. S. Army.

Ten had been members of the State Senate and fourteen of the House, some of them having served in both. A half dozen or more had been circuit judges. Some twenty had held one or more county offices and fifteen one or more city offices. All had been active in civic and political affairs in their local communities. A large majority had attended college and about half were college graduates. The majority were conservative, but constructive in their attitude. In general the more liberal delegates were older men, with long and able records of public service and without further political aspirations.

Committees Get Proposals

Following organization of the convention, a total of 377 proposals for revision of the constitution were introduced. Each was referred by the president to one of the twenty committees on revision. These committees held hearings open to the public and the press. No one was denied an opportunity to be heard.

Specialists were frequently invited to appear before a committee in order that members might have the benefit of their counsel. A hearing was often attended by several delegates not on the committee. Sometimes the crowd was so large that hearings were held in the House chamber. This was true of at least two hearings for negroes, one on the so-called nonpartisan court plan, one on taxation, one on conservation and one on highways.

Regular committee meetings were scheduled on the principal convention days for 9 A. M. and 2, 4 and 8 P. M. and special meetings were frequently held. Each chairman was supposed to file a report of each meeting with the president so his files would show the progress week by week. Most committees kept minutes and some chairmen distributed them regularly to members.

The hearings were excellent conferences or seminars on all phases of state and local government. Some organizations presented a broad program, for example, the League of Women Voters. Apparently their speaker for each committee was carefully selected and well prepared to discuss the problems before the committee. Other organizations, such as the Bar and Teachers Associations, had more limited programs, involving one article and related sections in other articles. These three groups stand out as those fully prepared when the convention started. Most organizations formulated their programs after the convention got under way.

Each proposal and each section of the old constitution received careful study either by a committee or by a subcommittee. A large number were rejected, but in each case the author was given an opportunity to be heard. No proposal was ignored or pigeon-holed.

Introduction of proposals and hearings continued until the Christmas holidays 1943. During the months of January and February 1944, most committee reports were formulated and filed. The principal work was then tranferred to the floor of the convention where each report

—or "file" as it was called—was considered section by section. The convention could adopt a section with or without amendment, or adopt a substitute, or reject it. This process completed the first reading.

The file was then referred to the committee on phraseology, arrangement and engrossment. It was the duty of this committee to revise and improve the language and to renumber and rearrange the sections whenever necessary or desirable. Its report was then presented to the convention for approval on second reading.

Document Accepted

The last step in the procedure was the third reading and final passage which required the support of a majority of the delegates, 42 votes. Only a majority of those voting was required on first and second reading.

After the third reading, the file again went to the phraseology committee, which then made its final report on arrangement of articles and sections. This report was adopted on the final roll call vote of the convention, with only two Democrats and two Republicans voting "no."

Some half dozen special committees were then announced for the purpose of finishing the work of the convention and to provide for submission of the proposed new constitution. The date of the special election was set for February 27, 1945, and the official ballot approved.

Provision was made for the printing and distribution of 500,000 copies of the proposed constitution and address to the people, and for official newspaper advertising. The necessary appropriation resolution was introduced, debated and adopted.

After disposing of various miscellaneous matters the delegates sang America, the chaplain pronounced the benediction and the convention adjourned *sine die*.

Following adjournment, the convention's executive committee held five meetings and sponsored a statewide citizens meeting in Jefferson City on December 5, 1944. At that time a citizens' "Missouri Committee for the New Constitution" was officially organized. Two of the four officers (president, vice president, secretary and treasurer) were men, two were women. Also two were Democrats and two were Republicans. These officers were given blanket authority to complete the organization and to conduct an active campaign. Headquarters were established in St. Louis, with bureaus on organization, publicity, and speakers.

The committee conducted what was undoubtedly the greatest educational campaign in the history of Missouri and the new constitution was adopted by a majority of seven to four.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—For further information on the preparation and adoption of Missouri's new constitution see "Constitution by Convention," by Tess Loeb, the REVIEW, January 1944, page 14, and "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, the REVIEW, April 1945, page 165.

Letters to the Editor

Again, Students and Officials

To the Editor:

I have read Willard N. Hogan's contribution to the section on Citizen Action in the June issue of your excellent publication. His account of the rebuffs met by students in Kentucky counties does not conform with my own experience in New York State, where I and others with whom I am acquainted have received cooperation from county, town and other local, as well as state, officials beyond our reasonable expectations.

It is possible that this difference in experience can be explained in part by the differences in the attitudes of those conducting the studies.

The reaction of the students who begin a course in local government which I teach is frequently inclined to be one of suspicion of all things governmental and political. This attitude, plus abysmal ignorance of the problems of local officials, can well lead to something less than a warm reception in the offices of local officials. These officials, like other human beings, respond to courtesy, sincerity and genuine interest in their problems. I can well imagine that if students were investigating Berea College or Cornell University with attitudes and background comparable to those held in the investigations of county government cited in Mr. Hogan's letter, they would likewise fail to receive a warm reception.

This past summer I sent four letters of inquiry to four county treasurers in New York and received four replies by return mail giving the information requested in full. Other correspondence in the past has elicited excellent response. In the course of working for a doctorate several years ago, I spent several months in the offices of local and state officials. The ready willingness of officers and staff to answer questions and to meet extensive requests for information was a constant source of surprise to one who was at that time almost as unfamiliar with local government as the college students of today in Berea College and Cornell University. Other graduate students here have had similar experience.

Many local officials are interested in the results of the studies conducted from the standpoint of possible improvements in their own work. Most of them would rather do a good job than a poor one, and some are aggressively interested in improvements.

It seems to me that Mr. Hogan has indicated one important problem in his article: "that more than a general knowledge of county government can be gained only by observation from an inside vantage point or actual participation." My teaching efforts, and I expect Mr. Hogan's, have as one objective the encouragement of actual participation in government activities as actively interested citizens who are willing to give some time to local governmental problems or to take part as local officials.

E. A. Lutz

Cornell University

Lawyers in Politics

To the Editor:

I read with real interest the reprint of Murray Seasongood's article, "Should Lawyers Be Citizens?" It seems from the records that lawyers do not need any urging to get into political life and, to my way of thinking, it would be well for everyone if fewer were in elective or appointive political positions.

My reasons for stating this are: that lawyers have thus far had almost a monopoly in the legislative halls of

not only the United States but also other countries; that they have not done a good job, as the present state of the world so loudly proclaims.

Here is an illustration of the preponderance of lawyers in politics. According to the 1940 census there were in the U. S.:

245,288 engineers, 177,643 lawyers and judges, and 162,649 physicians and surgeons.

According to Legislative Reference Service as of April 25, 1947, there are in the U. S. Congress:

	Senate	*House*	*Total*
Engineers	2	1	3
Lawyers	60	243	303
Physicians and Surgeons	0	7	7

A scientific instead of a legal approach to the problems of the world would probably make a better world for us to live in.

WILLIAM GOLDSMITH
Woodcrest Construction Company
New York City

The Slothful Voter

TO THE EDITOR:

"Why Don't More Americans Vote?," an article by George H. Gallup in the *Reader's Digest* of April, taken from your REVIEW of January '47, has been called to my attention belatedly.

Many answers have been published to this question; none of them the right answer.

More and more, nominations are made by political machines in each party. Almost without exception those nominees, knowing that they must serve their party machine big-shots for a place at the nation's political pie counter, serve their political masters instead of the nation's and the people's welfare after being elected.

More and more, voters in increasing numbers are becoming so disgusted and distrustful of their government that they are seeing no use in going to the polls, to vote for candidates selected by big-shot machine leaders.

We independents are fully aware that failure to vote on our part makes party machines, instead of the people, the governing force of our homeland. But we have not had "a government of the people, for the people, by the people" for many years.

Nor do we go to the primaries, because there we would have to call for a party ballot; a balloting between machine-picked candidates.

The present campaign for next fall's election is a fair example of the shadow-boxing being indulged in to confuse some, but not all, the people about responsibility for the astronomical heights to which the cost of living has risen. Thinking voters see no hope of living costs being reduced by government so long as politicians in both parties are more interested in their party's welfare than they are in the people's welfare.

W. H. EDWARDS

Gosport, Indiana

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Milwaukee Sponsors Radio Programs

City's Library Plans School for Candidates

MILWAUKEE'S common council is sponsoring three municipal radio programs. Begun last October, these tell Milwaukee citizens about their government. A special council committee determines subjects and participants for each radio show and has also been authorized to extend and modify the programs as it sees fit.

One of these programs, "City Hall News," is a five-minute broadcast of municipal affairs heard each evening at 6.15, Monday through Friday, over station WEMP. It is prepared by the municipal reference librarian. In addition to keeping the people more informed on local affairs, the program has had the indirect effect of increasing local news coverage on other stations.

"Mr. Milwaukee" is a biweekly, half-hour program broadcast every other Saturday at 11.30 A. M. over station WTMJ. The script is prepared by Gerald Caffrey, head of the Public Library's publications and exhibits department. The program opens with a brief address by the mayor, who reports on city activities for the past two weeks. Mr. Milwaukee, an anonymous citizen, then talks to two aldermen or public officials about a particular issue before the council. Usually the two are on opposing sides of the question. After this discussion Mr. Milwaukee interviews an administrative official who describes the work of his department. The scripts are very informal and written in an interesting style. Comments thus far have been favorable.

The third program is called "Your Common Council" and is broadcast every Saturday over station WISN from 5.45 to 6.00 P. M. On it two aldermen discuss informally, in round table fashion, an issue before the common council. The moderator is Norman Gill, executive director of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee. At first, the aldermen were a little concerned about speaking extemporaneously over the radio, but experience has shown that this provides a great deal of interest.

Much time and effort of library employees have been spent in producing these shows, and no city should undertake municipal radio programs without recognizing the work they entail. The script writer for the WTMJ program spends roughly 40 hours on each script and a stenographer had to be hired to handle the additional work. Gathering news for the news broadcast is a daily task for the municipal reference librarian which requires some effort. In addition, outlines of "Your Common Council" program must be prepared and rehearsals held before they go on the air. All of these items are time-consuming.

It is too early to gauge the results of these programs. As is usually the case, citizen response is not very heavy. Their reception, however, has generally been good.

School for Politicians

With a record 356 persons seeking city and county offices Milwaukee has also started an experiment in candidate education—a "school for politicians."

Sponsored by the public library, the school is being held in the form of five election seminars conducted by nationally known experts on municipal problems. Invitations were mailed to all candidates for public office.

Over a third of the candidates have attended, and those considered to have the best chance of election have been most careful to be seen at the seminars. Both of Milwaukee's dailies have watched attendance carefully and printed lists of office-seekers present. Particularly close check has been kept on the twenty candidates for the seat of retiring Mayor John L. Bohn. In addition, about 200 interested citizens have attended the meetings.

Comprehensive reports of the material presented have been run by the newspapers on the day following each session and have been followed up with editorials.

Behind the series is the thought by public library officials that some of the more important issues in any campaign can be brought into sharp focus by experts on municipal affairs, that many of the candidates will take some of their campaign material from the seminars, thus spreading education concerning municipal affairs, and that those "newcomers" to office, of whom there promises to be a good number because of many retirements, will have some insight into basic, long-range problems of city government when they take office.

After an hour's lecture, the audience participates in a question-and-answer period. The sessions turned up new material on some of the hottest issues in the mayoralty campaign, such as traffic planning in relation to city planning and the effect of multiple boards, commissions and committees on administrative efficiency.

Walter H. Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials, stepped directly into the current local controversy over the proposed construction of crosstown expressways in his seminar on "Plan Your City or Lose It."

Herman Pope, executive director of the Public Administration Service, threw the spotlight on Milwaukee's 62 boards, commissions and committees, which handle everything from administration of the harbor to the annual Christmas tree observance, in his talk on "General Administration." He brought into public view new doubts about the efficiency of this city's unwieldy system of electing 27 aldermen from as many wards, as well as its treasurer, city attorney, comptroller and mayor.

Titles of the other seminars are "Land Use and Housing," by Coleman Woodbury, professor of housing at the University of Wisconsin; "Public Works," by Donald Herrick, executive director of the American Public Works Association; and "Municipal Finance," by Carl Chatters, professor of public finance at Northwestern University. The last has special bearing on proposals to finance some $25,000,000 in public improvements through bond issues, on which the public will vote by referendum in April.

WILLIAM L. SLAYTON
Municipal Reference Librarian
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The council-manager plan was adopted in **Marshall, Missouri,** (population 8,533) at an election on February 3 by a vote of 1,160 to 843. It had been supported by six of the eight councilmen but opposed by the mayor. The new council will consist of five members elected at large for staggered three-year terms, on April 6, preceded by an elimination primary on March

23 if more than ten candidates are nominated. **Slater, Missouri,** (3,070) adopted the plan on February 24 by a vote of 638 to 534.

Waco, Texas, (55,982) adopted a charter amendment on January 31 providing for a "business manager" to be chosen by the city council. The vote was 2,548 to 2,409. Another amendment, adopted 2,747 to 2,525, establishes a council known as the board of commissioners, consisting of six members elected from wards, three being chosen each year. This board will elect one of its members as chairman and mayor, with voting power but no veto; it also will appoint the manager, attorney, secretary, recorder and the tax assessor and collector. Waco in 1946 voted to abandon the council-manager plan which had been in effect for 22 years.

Fair Lawn, New Jersey, (9,017) adopted the manager plan by a vote of 1,267 to 885 on February 24. A new council of five members will be elected on March 23.

The council-manager plan became effective January 30 in the city of **Nephi, Utah,** by virtue of a recently adopted ordinance.

Konawa, Oklahoma, adopted a council-manager charter on February 17 by a vote of 157 to 12.

The International City Managers' Association has added the following four municipalities, not previously noted herein, to its official list of manager places: **Bar Harbor, Maine; Harlingen, Texas; Madison, Florida;** and **Rouyn, Quebec.** The association also reports recent adoptions in **Kennebunk, Maine,** (3,698) **Antioch** (5.106) and **Claremont** (3,057), **California,** and **Bal Harbour, Florida.** The town and village of **Windsor, Vermont,** have been removed from the list because a selectman is also serving as manager.

There is an active manager plan movement in **Brunswick, Maine,** with Chamber of Commerce support.

Efforts have been renewed in **Islesboro, Maine,** for adoption of the manager plan at the March 1 town meeting.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Laconia, New Hampshire,** is engaged in a study of the council-manager plan.

The Plan E for **Boston** Committee has circulated petitions on a city-wide basis to show the desire of citizens to vote on adoption of Plan E (manager and P. R. council). The petitions are addressed to the Massachusetts legislature.

The Plan E for **Somerville (Mass.)** Committee recently held a meeting which was addressed by its president and chairman of organization work.

Petitions have been signed in **Nahant, Massachusetts,** calling on the legislature to permit a vote on the town manager plan at the annual town meeting in March.

The town manager plan is being studied in **Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts.**

A citizens committee has been formed in **Easton, Pennsylvania,** to try to obtain the manager plan for that city, following a mass meeting protesting higher taxes and increased salaries for the mayor and council.

Mayor H. Odell Weeks of **Aiken, South Carolina,** has announced appointment of a committee of city councilmen to make a study of the council-manager form of government with a view of submitting the question at the next city election.

In **Lake Wales, Florida,** interest in the manager plan is being shown, particularly by the Chamber of Commerce.

Fairmont, West Virginia, on February 3 defeated a council-manager charter 2,763 to 1,780; the total vote was about 25 per cent of the electorate. In the spring of 1947 the voters approved action for a new charter and

a charter board was elected. Organized labor, particularly the United Mine Workers, opposed the charter drafted by the board, as did also various politicians of both parties. The proposed charter called for nonpartisan elections for council, whereas Fairmont now has a compulsory bipartisan system.

In **East Liverpool, Ohio,** a recently organized City Manager Charter Association has secured an estimated one thousand signatures to petitions to require a referendum on adoption of the manager plan. The signers, 250 more than needed, ask a vote within 120 days on organization of a fifteen-member commission to draft a new charter.

The League of Women Voters in **Warren, Ohio,** is studying the manager plan.

In **Kent, Ohio,** a five-man committee for the manager plan, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, is investigating various forms which the plan takes in different cities.

Councilman R. J. Wilkinson of **Huntington, West Virginia,** has conducted a questionnaire survey that indicates strong support for the council-manager idea.

The city of **Clare, Michigan,** will vote March 12 on adoption of a council-manager charter drafted with aid from the consulting service of the Michigan Municipal League.

On April 5 the voters of **Wakefield, Michigan,** will take an advisory vote on changing from commission to council-manager government.

Renville, Minnesota, will hold an election in March to determine whether it will change its form of government. Interest in the council-manager plan has been expressed.

After an unsuccessful effort last year a manager ordinance has been urged upon the council in **Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin,** with the support of the *Door County Advocate.*

Citizens of **Kaukauna, Wisconsin,** are circulating petitions asking for a vote on the council-manager plan at the spring election on April 6.

A proposal for adoption of the manager plan was defeated in **Neillsville, Wisconsin,** on February 3 by a vote of 475 to 283.

The manager plan is being sought for **Trenton, Tennessee,** part of the support coming from the Chamber of Commerce.

The **Des Moines, Iowa,** Chamber of Commerce is interested in the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Boonville, Missouri,** has asked for a report from a committee appointed by Mayor S. L. Jewett to investigate the manager plan.

Manager proposals were defeated in three Missouri cities: **Mexico,** February 16, 790 to 594; **Fulton,** February 18, 1,101 to 744; and **Cape Girardeau,** February 24, 2,349 to 1,301.

A proposal that the city employ a manager was defeated in **Mitchell, South Dakota,** on February 17 by a vote of 1,790 to 1,509. The situation was complicated by another proposal to change from the aldermanic to the commission form of government which was also defeated 1,853 to 1,417.

The manager plan is under consideration by the **Hollis, Oklahoma,** city council.

A manager proposal, vigorously opposed by the city government, was defeated in **Gothenburg, Nebraska,** on January 28 by a vote of 613 to 209. A Citizens' Committee has been formed to investigate the local government and the need for the manager plan.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Grand Island, Nebraska,** is conducting a study of the manager plan.

A citizens' committee to draft a new charter for **Colorado City, Texas,** has been appointed by Mayor Peter Martin. The council-manager plan will be followed.

A Council-Manager Association has been formed in **San Antonio, Texas,** for the purpose of securing amendment of the city's charter to provide the council-manager plan.

A charter convention for revision of the **Delta, Colorado,** charter has indicated interest in the manager plan, to replace the commission form.

The **Englewood, Colorado,** *Enterprise* has urged consideration of the council-manager plan for that city.

A proposal for the council-manager plan will be voted on in **Manhattan Beach, California,** in April.

An election will be held in **Lodi, California,** in March on adoption of the manager plan and other recommendations resulting from a survey by the Public Administration Service.

A citizens' group in **Riverside, California,** is making a determined effort in behalf of the manager plan.

The mayor of **Whittier, California,** has appointed a committee of five prominent citizens to study the plan.

It is expected that a vote on the council-manager plan will be held at the April 6 municipal election in **Ketchikan, Alaska.**

Personnel Practices Analyzed in Florida Manager Cities

A survey of 28 Florida cities having the council-manager form of government, varying in size from 1,150 to 193,000 population, reveals a trend towards certain general practices now current in public personnel management.

Seven of the municipalities, including the six largest ones studied, have provided civil service boards with jurisdiction over all employees. In addition two municipalities have civil service boards for fire and police departments only, one uses a personnel board, and another has a trial board to which employees may appeal. In one of the cities a civil service board has been authorized but not fully organized.

The majority of these boards are selected and appointed by the city council or commission, although there is employee representation on five of them. On four of the latter, half of the membership is appointed by the city legislative body, the other half by employees, and the odd man chosen by the first two groups.

A central system of personnel records is maintained in eighteen of the cities surveyed. In six cities these records are maintained in the office of the civil service board. In the remainder the personnel records are supervised and maintained by the office of the manager, personnel director, auditor, finance director or city clerk. A system of efficiency ratings on personnel records is in effect and recorded on the cards of all employees in two of the cities, and on firemen and policemen in a third city.

Nine cities provide for the recruitment of employees with a merit system of examinations in the fire and police departments. Four of these recruit for all departments by merit examinations. Personnel boards administer the examinations in eight cities and in the other the city manager and the department heads supervise the plan.

In the remaining cities surveyed employees are appointed by the city manager, advised by the department heads, except that in five cases the department heads appoint their employees.

Position classification plans for all employees have been established in

nine cities, although one of the plans is not yet in operation. Definite salary ranges for particular positions, classes and grades of employees are maintained in eleven cities, but such classifications are limited to fire and police departments in two cases.

Promotion by the manager is the practice in eight cities while promotion by separate department heads is effected in fourteen. Promotion through a combination of efficiency ratings, examinations and choice by department heads is used in five cities and one city promotes employees on the basis of written examinations only.

The problems of discipline and removal of employees is in the hands of the department heads in 22 of the cities observed. In 21 of these employee recourse through appeal to the manager is possible, and in eleven the employee may further appeal to a personnel board. Ten managers in these eleven cities expressed the opinion that the practice functioned successfully.

Employee retirement systems have been established in twelve of these cities, and three additional cities are in the process of establishing such plans. Practically all the employees of the cities are covered in six of the plans. In the other six only certain departments are included, usually fire and police departments. The average employee salary deduction is 3 per cent for cities surveyed and the average per cent contributed by the cities is four.

J. E. Dovell
University of Florida

Commission Studies Local Government in New Jersey

The New Jersey legislature has authorized a commission to study the structure of local government. The commission is empowered to investigate the laws governing the various forms and essential procedures of local government now in operation or available, the terms and conditions of their adoption by communities, to evaluate the actual operation of the forms now in use, and to obtain information on such matters in other states so as to suggest changes in New Jersey laws "to provide the fullest opportunity for local self-government consistent with the interests of the state as a whole."

Five members of the commission are appointed by the governor, two by the president of the Senate and two by the speaker of the House; the governor designates the chairman. An appropriation of $25,000 for staff and expenses is authorized.

Twelve State Legislatures Meeting This Year

Legislative sessions have convened in five of the six states which have regular annual legislatures—Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and South Carolina. California's annual session is scheduled to open March 8.

Regular biennial sessions are in progress in Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri and Virginia. Louisiana's biennial session is scheduled to convene May 10. Other states with biennial sessions hold them in odd-numbered years.

The only special session scheduled for 1948 is Arizona's, which convened in January. Special sessions as yet unscheduled, however, are expected to be called in some other states.

Connecticut Helps Insure Its Employees

Connecticut recently became one of the few states that offer state-aided group life insurance to their employees. According to the Civil Service Assem-

bly, full-time employees may buy $1,000–$2,000 policies, depending on their salaries. Employees will pay 60 cents a month for each $1,000 of insurance and the state will pay the rest of the premium. No age limit or physical examination is required.

Hawaii Statehood Awaits Further Investigation

As a basis for action by the Senate Public Lands Committee on the pending bill to provide statehood for Hawaii, the committee has directed Senator Guy Cordon of Oregon, chairman of the Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs, to survey the operation of territorial government in Hawaii. According to the Council of State Governments, this will be the fifth congressional investigation of statehood for Hawaii since 1935 and the second Senate study. The 1946 and 1947 House committees unanimously recommended statehood.

Princeton Expands School of Public Affairs

An honorary sponsoring committee, consisting of President Truman, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, ex-President Hoover and Bernard M. Baruch, and an active sponsoring committee of 39 prominent figures in business and public life, have been appointed by President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University to advise the university in its plans to enlarge its School of Public and International Affairs as a living memorial to Woodrow Wilson, thirteenth president of Princeton.

To launch a graduate program and to strengthen the school's undergraduate work, the university is seeking to double the school's present endowment of $1,500,000 and secure $500,000 for a building to be known as Woodrow Wilson Hall.

Since its establishment the school has trained men for careers in government. One of the fundamental purposes henceforth will be to prepare other men for business careers who will be able to enter business with an understanding of the operation of government, the political processes and government objectives.

Midwest State Development Agencies Form Organization

The Mid-continent Council of Development Agencies was formed late in 1947 at a meeting of representatives of seven state planning and development agencies in Pierre, South Dakota. The purpose, according to *State Government,* is to facilitate the exchange of ideas and research findings among states that share a common economy and have similar problems of resources and industrial development. The present membership is made up of Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota and Wyoming.

University to Hold Institute for Teachers of Government

The School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs of the American University, Washington, D. C., in cooperation with the Washington Chapter of the American Political Science Association, has announced its second annual Institute for Teachers of Government and Administration, to be held in Washington June 13-26. The director is Lowell H. Hattery.

Conferences will be held with members of Congressional committees, officials of executive departments and agencies, representatives of major lobby groups and other persons who can contribute information that will enable the professor of political science and administration to make his classroom presentation more realistic.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

For Better Government and Administration

Surveys of Departments Functions and Forms

A *BETTER Government for a Better City, a Study of Five Departments of the City of New York,* is the title of a 490-page report of a survey by the **Citizens Budget Commission,** undertaken at the request of Mayor William O'Dwyer. The survey was in charge of a special committee. Louis E. Yavner, former commissioner of investigation, directed the project.

The report indicates possible savings of some $30,000,000 if recommendations growing out of the investigation of the departments of police, fire, correction, public works and sanitation are carried out. It concludes that merger neither of the police, fire and correction departments nor of the sanitation and public works departments would be useful, but does indicate the desirability of merging certain functions such as automotive transport, building maintenance and medical services.

A major deficiency discovered in New York City administration is widespread failure to employ modern management techniques of planning, supervision and control. "Existing management services are undermanned," says the report.

President Robert W. Dowling of the Citizens Budget Commission emphasizes in his letter of transmittal that the faults disclosed in the report "have accumulated over a period of 50 years and many administrations."

A 156-page administrative and financial survey of Alameda County government, directed by Louis J. Kroeger, has been published by the **Alameda County (California) Taxpayers' Association.** The report makes detailed recommendations for improved administration of all departments and an overhauling of the county charter. It recommends dropping ten of eleven elective county officers from the present long county ballot and the integration of county administration under a responsible executive appointed by the board of supervisors.

Possible methods of securing a more representative board of supervisors are discussed; proportional representation is offered as "not an immediate, but a long-term recommendation" after "careful consideration and careful planning."

The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** D. Benton Biser, director, has issued a report on that city's Department of Welfare. The study, undertaken at the request of the mayor, comprises 84 pages, concluding with a fifteen-page summary of recommendations and observations.

Bureaus Investigate Forms of Local Government

Municipal Home Rule Charters in Texas, by Wilfred D. Webb, is a 54-page pamphlet issued by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas,** Stuart A. MacCorkle, director. Dr. Webb discusses the various forms of municipal organization as they are used in Texas and includes a chapter on the initiative, referendum and recall.

A bulletin from the **Woonsocket Taxpayers Association,** William H. Cun-

ningham, executive director, discusses the pros and cons of the strong mayor-council form of municipal government.

The **Haynes Foundation** of Los Angeles has published *From Rural to Urban; the Municipalized County of Los Angeles.* This 33-page pamphlet is a brief adaptation, prepared by Robert F. Wilcox, of a more comprehensive study published by the foundation in 1946, *Los Angeles County as an Agency of Municipal Government,* by George W. Bemis and Nancy Basche. The report concludes with a series of recommendations looking toward a relationship between the county and other local governments described as "a borough type of organization." This would involve a new county charter which would reallocate local functions and bring county government closer to the people by establishing county buildings in each major division of the county.

The council-manager plan of government is praised by the mayor of Vernal and the manager of Tooele, both Utah manager plan cities, in two articles in *Utah Experience With the City Manager Plan,* issued by the **University of Utah Institute of Government,** G. Homer Durham, director.

The **Montreal Municipal Service Bureau,** Frederick Wright, director, has issued a brochure, *The Borough System of Government for Greater Montreal,* outlining in detail the advantages of that plan for Montreal. Designed to integrate the twenty separate municipalities now within the Montreal area, the plan is to divide the city itself into eighteen boroughs and convert the present six outlying municipalities into boroughs; the resulting 24 boroughs would each have a mayor and council; each would also send a delegate to the Metropolitan Council, which would be concerned with the government of the city as a whole. The brochure contains a number of articles and editorials supporting different aspects of the plan.

Three methods of consolidating local government functions—official commissions, contracts and volunteer organizations—are discussed by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, in another of its series of issues of *Citizens' Business* devoted to the metropolitan area.

Of Particular Value to Local Officials

"The annual town or city report is an admirable opportunity for informing the citizen about the financial status of his local government, acquainting him with its accomplishments, and providing him with an understanding of the problems faced daily by his town or city officials," points out Donald E. Dunn, executive secretary of the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire** in the first issue of its bulletin, *New Hampshire Town and City Notes.*

A number of towns and cities are putting out highly readable and well organized reports, but too many are still dull lists of figures and unrelated facts. Mr. Dunn shows how to make annual reports readable and inspiring by emphasizing services rather than individual officials and by using illustrations and simple graphs.

Garbage Collection Practices in Michigan Municipalities are presented in tabulated form in a bulletin of that title issued by the **Michigan Municipal League,** John H. Huss, director.

Tabulating Services, Part V in a series of reports on the organization, administration and management of administrative services of Los Angeles, has been published by the **Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency,** Francis M. Cummings, director. Eighteen recommendations are made.

The **Bureau of Business and Econo-**

mic Research of the University of Maryland, John H. Cover, director, has published a report on *Building Activities in Maryland and Vicinity,* dealing with five Maryland cities, two counties and two urban districts and for comparison with Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Seasonal variations, building codes, etc., are considered. A number of charts and tables are included.

The **University of Washington Bureau of Governmental Research and Services,** Donald H. Webster, director, in cooperation with the **Association of Washington Cities,** Chester Biesen, executive secretary, has published three comprehensive reports on municipal problems. They are: *Regulation and Control of Outdoor Advertising, Milk Inspection and Milk Standards in King County,* and *Regulation of Peddlers.*

Limitations upon the regulation of outdoor advertising and the principal types of regulations that have been employed are outlined; the texts of many actual sign ordinances and several model ordinances are included; there is a bibliography.

Milk inspection and standards are treated in an equally thorough manner; several model milk ordinances are appended.

The problems of regulating peddlers are discussed in detail; Washington laws relating to peddling are summarized; the peddling ordinances of sixteen Washington cities are included plus four other ordinances; and there is a table summarizing the peddling ordinances of all Washington cities.

An extensive two-volume *Survey of Public and Voluntary Recreation in Hamilton County, Ohio,* has been issued by the **Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research,** Calvin Skinner, director. It can be obtained for $1 plus postage. Maps, charts and a detailed explanation provide an inventory of all metropolitan recreational facilities. The bureau finds that public support of the recreation program lags behind the average of comparable cities while private support exceeds the average. To remedy this and the duplication resulting from an uncoordinated recreation program, a county recreation board is proposed to take over responsibility of all recreational activities.

Four recent issues of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau's** *Just a Moment,* Sidney Detmers, managing director, deal with city office expenses, the city's civil service system, the membership of the 1948 board of supervisors and city tax rates.

Educational Costs and School Administration

A research study on *The Teachers' Pay Situation in New Jersey,* by Homer E. Scace, research assistant, has been issued by the **New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce.** Teachers' salaries are analyzed in relation to the present high cost of living and are compared with the earnings of production workers, lawyers, doctors and clerical and professional workers.

An issue of *Citizens' Business* **(Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research)** compares Philadelphia's school costs per pupil with those of eleven other cities of over 500,000 population.

School costs in Hartford are outlined in an issue of *Taxpayers' Business* **(Hartford Governmental Research Institute,** Leslie M. Gravlin, director). Notes on the facilities and administration of that city's school system are included.

Reorganization of school districts is considered in two recent publications. Act 361 passed by the 1947 Pennsylvania legislature to provide for county-wide reorganization of school districts is described in a bulletin from the **State Division of the Pennsylvania**

Economy League. Consolidation of the present twenty school districts in Big Horn County, Wyoming, into two is recommended by the **Wyoming Taxpayers Association,** Percy F. Jowett, executive director, in a pamphlet containing much statistical material.

School costs receive further consideration in three other bulletins. An issue of *Comments* **(Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau)** lists all non-teaching employees on the Lackawanna, New York, school district payroll and their salaries for the first half of January.

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director, analyzes the Rochester board of education teachers' payroll for September 1947, giving minimum, average and maximum salaries.

The teaching loads in Providence secondary schools in May 1946 and September 1947 are compared by the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director.

Fiscal Problems—Local and State

A suggested debt-elimination plan for **Utica** is outlined in a bulletin from that city's **Municipal Research Bureau,** William R. Coates, executive director.

Its eleventh annual 101-page report on the finances of *County, City and Town Government in Tennessee* has been published by the **Tennessee Taxpayers Association,** William R. Pouder, executive secretary. Financial statistics and financial administration of local government in Tennessee are covered in the text and in extensive tabular summaries.

Another aspect of Tennessee local government is covered in *Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee,* an equally thorough report issued by the **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Hayden B. Johnson, executive director. The many tables summarize data on Tennessee water rates, sewer charges and garbage collection charges.

Capital improvement programs for Tennessee communities are discussed in a *Newsletter* from the commission.

Two bulletins from the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, are concerned with the $134,000 increase in the cost of a street-widening project caused by a two-year delay, an inter-agency personnel program in the San Francisco area, and the critical financial situation of the Municipal Railway.

A third bulletin from the bureau presents the results of a civil service commission survey and an employers' council survey of clerical salaries. Still another issue summarizes the comparative tax rates of a number of cities.

Under the auspices of the **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration,** Hans F. Abraham and Priscilla M. Greeley have prepared a 121-page digest of laws concerning grants-in-aid, with special reference to Massachusetts. As the authors say in their foreword, the study is "intended for reference only. It is hoped that students may find the material contained herein valuable as a starting point for reports dealing with selected aspects of grants-in-aid." Part I deals with federal grants-in-aid for conservation, education, welfare, health, employment security, public works, housing and military aids. Part II concerns state grants-in-aid in Massachusetts (no federal contribution) for conservation, education, welfare, health and public works. A glossary of terms as used in federal and Massachusetts law is included. The report is priced at $2.25.

Your Government, the bulletin of the **University of Kansas Bureau of Gov-**

ernment Research, Ethan P. Allen, director, has a comment by Deane Postlethwaite on the office of county treasurer in Kansas. It is concluded that the county treasurer, "the central figure in the local fiscal picture in Kansas," should have a broad knowledge of modern accounting methods and a keen sense of responsibility.

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, in its bulletin, criticizes the issuing of sewer bonds by the city, concluding that a committee should be appointed to establish priorities in the city capital program.

The **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** in its *Monthly Letter* advocates ultimate replacement of the present board of assessors by one appointed expert. The bureau suggests further reforms which would eliminate the board of control, but it would preserve the city-wide point of view of the present controllers by having half the aldermen elected at large. In another *Letter,* the bureau argues against proposed legislation which would give the board of assessors the powers of a commission. The cost of Canadian government in 1944 is discussed in two recent issues of *Canadian Taxation* of the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.** Eric Hardy is director of both bureaus.

Need for More Money

Mississippi: Moneys for the Cities is the title of a pamphlet by Robert Baker Highsaw, director of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi,** which has published the study. It concludes that "revenues in many Mississippi municipalities are not now sufficient to meet the present or expanding needs of the incorporated places" and that therefore sources of revenue must be found "which do not conflict with state and federal taxes, but which do permit municipalities to share in and tap their wealth most effectively."

How much will the state of Kansas spend in 1948 and 1949? That is the question asked by the **University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research,** in an issue of *Your Government.* The bureau points out how difficult it is to answer that question because the state has about two hundred separate funds, but does present a table showing the probable Kansas income and expenditure and unspent balances for the fiscal biennium from July 1947 through June 1949.

Harry S. Allen, assistant director of the **Nevada Taxpayers Association,** in an article, "Marked Money," published in the *Nevada Tax Review,* writes that today most of the public funds of Nevada are spent without legislative appropriations; this has been accomplished by constitutional amendments, legislative acts and day-to-day usage. His solution is to place as many accounts as possible "under the scrutiny" of the legislature and adopt a "modified system of earmarking" funds.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** reviews the 1947 tax year in a recent issue of *The Wisconsin Taxpayer.* The organization, of which Paul N. Reynolds is executive director, has also issued the 1948 edition of its excellent handbook, *Taxes,* giving questions and answers on state and federal taxes levied in Wisconsin and including a state and federal income tax guide. It sells for 25 cents.

A recent issue of the **California Taxpayers' Association's** *Tax Digest,* Jessie K. Grant, editor, contains articles on state aid for local public works, the California tax system, state support of public schools, interim legislative committees and appropriations.

The *New York State Taxpayer,* William J. Embler, editor **(New York State Citizens Public Expenditure Survey)** devotes an issue to "an attempt to answer in advance many of the questions which citizens may ask" about Governor Dewey's budget message. The various sources of revenue and reasons for appropriations are set forth in detail.

The problems before **Philadelphia's Committee of Fifteen** appointed to study the city's finances are outlined by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** in *Citizens' Business.*

State Activities

The Record of the 1947 Minnesota State Legislature is the title of a pamphlet issued by the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** Harold L. Henderson, executive director, summarizing important 1947 legislation, classified by subjects: appropriations, taxes, state and local government, etc.

The Kansas Bureau of Investigation is described in *Your Government,* Bulletin of the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas,** Ethan P. Allen, director.

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Bureau Reports and Plans

Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, Henry W. Connor, director: report of 1947 activities and outline of 1948 program.

Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Sidney Detmers, managing director: outline of 1947 activities.

Colorado Public Expenditure Council, Fred Bennion, executive director: first annual report.

Richard A. Ware of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and the National Training School for Public Service, in an article, "Training in Detroit for a Career in Citizen Leadership and Public Administration," in a recent *Notes and References* of the **Governmental Research Association,** describes the Detroit bureau's program to provide training experience for young people interested in public service careers.

Another *Notes and References* is devoted to an article by Henry K. Stanford, director of the University of Denver's Department of Government Management, on "Education for Citizen Leadership."

A system of in-service training specifically designed to fit public officials to assume tasks of increasing responsibility is described in a supplement to the *Borough Bulletin* of the **Pennsylvania Government Administration Service.** The courses, stressing both theory and practice, are conducted by the **University of Pennsylvania's Institute of Local and State Government,** Stephen B. Sweeney, director.

The Journal of Politics, published by the **Southern Political Science Association** in cooperation with the **University of Florida,** has inaugurated a series of reports explaining the activities of political science departments and associated organizations in southern universities. The series will appear in the department, "News and Notes," edited by Albert L. Sturm. The first deals with the University of Alabama—its Department of Political Science and Bureau of Public Administration.

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Strictly Personal

A recent issue of *Look* magazine applauded **Walter L. Pierpoint,** president and manager of the Association of Omaha Taxpayers and a trustee of the Governmental Research Association, as a person making "good news" for his work in reducing Omaha's debt and improving its municipal services.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Women Voters on the March

Citizen Efforts Continue on All Government Levels

A COMPREHENSIVE study of interest to all those concerned with citizen participation in government is *Democratic Experience and Education in the National League of Women Voters* by Sara Barbara Brumbaugh.[1] "As a lay group," says Mrs. Brumbaugh in discussing the league, "it sensed and gave expression to the need of voters for continuous political education, and as an active political group it is in a position to bring political processes to bear upon its considered ideas. Moreover, the league has a somewhat professional relation to the problem of developing those understandings, attitudes and abilities which American citizenship implies. Since 1920 it has been conducting 'an experiment in political education,' national in scope, and has been making a study of the character such education should have."

Mrs. Brumbaugh gives a historical and descriptive survey of the organization, states its bases for the democratic outlook, and describes its educational processes, its philosophy of education and its work as a pressure group for good government.

The **National League of Women Voters,** Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president, is planning its biennial conference to be held in Grand Rapids, Michigan, April 26-30. At that time "Current Agenda" for 1948-1950 will be decided upon. More than 300 recommendations for the agenda have been received and analyzed by the national board. "They reflect a high degree of political awareness, a real sorting of values, and placing of first things first," says Miss Strauss in *Action,* the league's publication. Purpose of the league, as recited in *Action,* is "to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government to the end that 'government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.' "

Know Your State, published by the national league, joins that organization's array of similar pamphlets, *Know Your Town's Future, Know Your School System* and *Know Your County.* Containing 35 pages, it is available at 25 cents. Another recent publication is *Uncle Sam's Finances—Federal Tax and Fiscal Policy* (31 pages, ten cents).

"National" held a college league conference at Chicago in February. There are 41 affiliated college groups.

The **League of Women Voters of New York (State),** Mrs. Malcolm E. Cummings, president, has made the financing of an adequate public education program its current agenda item. "Whether the money for schools is collected by the state or the locality, it is collected from the people through their taxes," says its *Monthly News.* "Therefore it is up to the people to take an interest in order to evaluate any legislation for state aid introduced in the 1948 session of the legislature." The league held its tenth annual legislative conference at Albany January 26 and 27.

The New York league reports organization of a college league at Cor-

[1]Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 115 pp., $2.10.

nell University. A hundred girls turned out at the "new-member" meeting and a pile of returned questionnaires indicates interest and an increase in the membership.

Municipal Dollar$ and ene (fifteen pages, ten cents), prepared by Pearl Bernstein Max, administrator of the Board of Higher Education and formerly secretary of the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment, has been published by the **League of Women Voters of New York City** as basic material for an educational project on New York City finances. Because every voter as well as every taxpayer must make decisions on the city's finances, the league feels this is an important project for 1948. In furtherance of this idea it held a citywide meeting late in January to discuss "The Care and Feeding of Our Billion Dollar Baby." Mrs. Donald Hutchinson is chairman of the Municipal Affairs Committee organizing the meeting.

The **Syracuse** league's radio program, "Syracuse Speaks," has a Hooper rating, reports the New York State league's *Monthly News*, on which it is faring better than is the nation-wide "Town Meeting of the Air" in the area it covers.

The **Fayetteville, New York,** league is writing a column for the weekly *Eagle-Bulletin*, which serves that city and the surrounding area.

Hoboken Activities

The **League of Women Voters of Hoboken, New Jersey,** where a citizen uprising recently succeeded in unseating the long-entrenched McFeely political machine, held a one-day citizens' conference on February 21 to discuss city affairs. Round table subjects included reorganization of the fire and police departments, finance, city planning, health and welfare, and public works. The conference concluded with the tenth anniversary dinner of the league, addressed by Spencer A. Miller, New Jersey's state highway commissioner.

The Hoboken league was one of the sponsors of a February 10 meeting addressed by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, who had recently completed a survey of Hoboken's government. The league is presently conducting a poll of Hoboken citizens on their governmental affairs and citizen participation.

Another league in New Jersey, that in **Montclair,** conducted a series of discussions on local government during February. The first, held in cooperation with the **Montclair Forum,** on "The Commission Form of Government, Have We a Better Alternative?" was addressed by Harold A. and Kathryn H. M. Stone. As a sequel, three informal discussion groups were held at the home of a league member on "Problems of Local Government with Special Reference to the Municipal Manager Plan." Montclair is governed under the commission form.

The **League of Women Voters of Illinois,** Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president, has established a public relations committee. There is a publicity chairman, radio chairman, and a public discussions chairman, all working under the general chairman of the public relations committee.

The Illinois league reports that it has six college groups throughout the state. The **Barrington** and **South Shore** leagues have established evening groups for members and others unable to attend daytime meetings. The South Shore group has completed a community public opinion poll on atomic energy. The **Mt. Vernon** league was instrumental in drawing up an ordinance creating a city plan commission which was adopted by the city council.

The *Bulletin* of the **League of Women Voters of Massachusetts,** Mrs. Ashton Sanborn, editor, talks of neighborhood discussion groups. The item, "Would you like to help in developing neighborhood discussion groups?", on a questionnaire sent to members from state headquarters, received more checks than any other. The **Weston** league, it is reported, nearly doubled its membership last year after reorganizing on a neighborhood basis. **Wellesley** was well satisfied with the results of hiring an outside expert to train its neighborhood discussion leaders. At the 1947 conference in **Newton,** the league's committee on neighborhood discussion groups agreed that such groups are "suited to the building and carrying out of the League of Women Voters' program."

The *Connecticut Voter,* organ of the **Connecticut League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Alexander Marcus, editor, carries commendations from the press on its series, "Who Runs Connecticut?" Recent articles in the series include "County Government in Connecticut" and "The Legislative Council."

The **League of Women Voters of Wisconsin,** Mrs. William A. Norris, president, in its bulletin, *Forward,* reports on an area conference on international trade held at Minneapolis last fall and attended by 125 delegates from Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois and Wisconsin.

Mayor John L. Bohn of Milwaukee has designated the **Milwaukee County league** as head of a "get-out-the-vote campaign," cooperating with newspapers and other organizations.

The **League of Women Voters of Minneapolis** is working actively for submission of that city's proposed new charter to the voters.

The **Gainesville League of Women Voters,** a new local group in Florida, has been conducting discussion groups on "Know Your Town." A mimeographed bulletin for the aid of discussion leaders sets forth the organization of the city, gives questions and answers on finance, health, etc. Emphasis has been on finance and zoning, major problems facing the community.

A History in Verse

The **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** in honor of its 50th anniversary[1] has published *1897-1947, A Half-Century of the Citizens Union—A Doggerel History of Our Activities to Date,* written by Eleanor C. Tanzer, the union's assistant secretary. Here is a sample—the conclusion:

CHAIRMAN AND CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
Schieffelin retired in 1941
As Chairman, but his work is never done
He's still on the Executive Committee
And takes an active interest in the city.
Childs, his successor, also ably bent
His energies to civic betterment.
CU's in things too numerous to mention
We worked on Constitutional Convention
In '38; we watch the budgets yearly
And help is sought by Councilmen sincerely.
We drew the law to help the absent voters,
Of bills to house slum dwellers we're promoters.
O'Dwyer receives our praise and criticism
With pleasant spirit, sometimes witticism;
Our plan for city airport operation
By Port Authority met no ovation
But later on the city saw the light
Adopting our idea at second sight.
Traffic congestion, too, we had a break in

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[1]See the REVIEW, January 1948, page 47.

Our plan for bus control at last was taken.
And so we plod our weary way unglam'rous,
For popular and other causes clam'rous,
Goo-Goos, perhaps, despite our best endeavor—
No matter what, CU goes on forever.

* * *

Aid for the Discussion Leader

It Pays to Talk It Over—"some notes and suggestions for group discussion leaders" (48 pages, 40 cents), has been published by the **National Institute of Social Relations,** Frank L. Weil, president. Discussed are such matters as how to sell your ideas, how to gather and organize material, leading the discussion and keeping it going and useful audio-visual aids.

* * *

For the Children

The **Citizens Committee on Children of New York City** has issued *Citizens Look at Their Health Services for Children* (15 pages), a report of the committee's Health Section, Dr. Donovan J. McCune, chairman, and *Citizens Look at Their Schools* (24 pages), prepared by the Education Section, Dr. Alice V. Keliher, chairman.

Philosophies — Work — Standards of Boys' Clubs (30 pages) has been published by **Boys' Clubs of America,** David W. Armstrong, executive director.

* * *

The Small Community

A summary of the fourth annual conference on the small community held at Yellow Springs, Ohio, appears in the September-October and November-December issues of *Community Service News,* publication of **Community Service, Inc.,** Arthur E. Morgan, president and director.

Virginia Publications

Recent editions of the **University of Virginia Extension Division's** "New Dominion Series" include *May Day Modernized—Citizens Council Works for Better Health and Finer Living,* the Story of how Halifax County, Virginia, dramatized the need for good health; and *Facts to Folks to Action,* a presentation of the organization and work of the Committee for Kentucky.

* * *

Readable Annual Reports Asked

"Let's have some interesting annual reports," says the **Seattle Municipal League's** *Municipal News.* "The city comptroller and county auditor both publish excellent annual reports on finances. While they honestly portray the financial operations—making no attempt to 'cover up' shortcomings—these reports are only interesting to students of city and county governments. Mr. Citizen cannot be expected to spend an enjoyable evening ploughing through the many statistical tables. . . . Great cities—and counties—are built not only by people who care but also by those who are informed."

* * *

Developing Citizenship

The **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada** and the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** have issued similar bulletins titled "The Development of Citizenship." "The real antidote to unsound centralization and undue bureaucratic control," says the bulletins, "is the development and maintenance of virile local representative institutions. If citizens become conscious and expert in the use of their power in local affairs, they will be able, although with greater difficulty, to form intelligent judgments and make their will effective at so-called upper levels of government."

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Irish Dail Elected by P. R.

De Valera Party Loses to Coalition under Costello

FIANNA Fail, the party which has ruled Eire (Ireland) for sixteen years, failed to hold its majority in the Dail Eireann (Irish Parliament) in the election of February 4. Although it remained the largest party, electing 68 out of the 147 members to 31 for Fine Gael, the next largest, opposition groups—both conservative and more or less socialist—were united in desiring an end of Fianna Fail's leadership.

Accordingly, when the new Dail met on February 18, it defeated Premier Eamon De Valera of Fianna Fail by a vote of 75 to 70 and elected John A. Costello, of Fine Gael, by 75 to 68. Mr. Costello was attorney general under Eire's first prime minister, William Cosgrove, and is but the third man to hold the premiership.

Although during part of Mr. De Valera's sixteen-year incumbency Fianna Fail did not have a majority, ruling with support of political allies, Mr. Costello's is Eire's first coalition government in that a number of parties are represented in the Cabinet and share in the formulation of policy.

Elections to the Dail are conducted by districts each of which elects a number of representatives by proportional representation. The form of P. R. used is the single transferable vote, which is familiar in this country because of its use in a number of American cities. The system is also used for city and county councils and all other public elections of representative bodies in Eire.

Particular interest in the election arose in connection with the campaign of Clann Na Poblachta (Republican party), a relatively new party led by Sean McBride regarded as having socialist leanings. That party had obtained two seats in the Dail at recent by-elections and there was much speculation concerning the following it had gathered in the nation at large. It obtained only ten seats in the election of February 4, however, less than the small Labor party and less than a third of the strength of Fine Gael, the second largest party in the country.

The seats held in the Dail before and after the election by the various political groups are compared below:

Party	*Before February 4*	*Election of February 4*
Fianna Fail	77	68
Fine Gael	28	31
Labor	8	14
Clann Na Poblachta	2	10
Clann Na Talmhan	11	7
National Labor	4	5
Independents	8	12
	138	147

New German Proposal Provides for P. R.

The "German economic administration" proposed by American and British Military Government authorities last January 8, after a two-day conference with German political leaders of the American and British occupation zones, would double the size of the present 52-member Economic Council and provide for its selection by the various state parliaments on the basis of one member for every 375,000 persons. Such selection would give repre-

sentation in proportion to the strength of political parties in the various states. There are eight states in the two-zone area, which is beginning to be unofficially referred to as "Bizonia."

In addition to the proportionally representative Economic Council the proposed Bizonia economic administration would include an upper chamber of sixteen members with certain limited veto powers and also a chief executive official elected by the Economic Council and approved by the upper chamber. He would choose a cabinet with the approval and subject to the control of the Economic Council. This plan of executive management responsible to parliamentary rule was chosen in conformity to European practice in spite of some pressure by American authorities for a chief executive whose cabinet members would not be under legislative control, according to a report in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

A list system of proportional representation, generally similar to that under the pre-Hitler Republic, is used to elect parliaments in the American and French zones. In the Russian zone the forms of the old P. R. election laws have been revived, but the partisan curtailment of publication facilities and civil liberties by occupation authorities has prevented any full proportional representation of the parties and interest groups.

British participation in the Bizonia proposal involves some modification in the attitude of British authorities towards P. R., for their initiative was largely responsible for the provision of a novel, not necessarily proportional, system in the British zone instead of the pre-Hitler proportional system. If the British hybrid system was designed to be more favorable than the proportional system to the establishment of a two-party system, it has failed in that respect: the elaborate election reports compiled in 1947 by the American Military Government, covering all of Germany, show that the concentration of votes in the larger parties was slightly greater in the American and French zones where P. R. was in use.

An example of the non-proportionality of the improvised system of the British zone is the election in Hamburg described in the 1946-47 Annual Report of the British Proportional Representation Society. A certain number of councilmen were elected by the voters, who voted (with X's) for as many candidates as were to be elected from their district. Then the remaining seats were allotted to each party, from a separate reserve list of candidates in proportion to their "pool" of votes made up, according to the British Society's report, of "the difference between the votes of each of its successful candidates in the various wards and the votes secured by the highest unsuccessful candidate, whether of the same or another party," plus "the votes of all its unsuccessful candidates throughout the electoral area." This last feature was intended to provide some representation to minorities.

In Hamburg each of 21 wards elected four councilmen directly. There were 18 to 27 candidates per ward, with a grand total of 467, who, except for 15 independents, were entered by seven parties. With only 43 per cent of the vote the Social Democratic party's candidates took 76 of these seats (90 per cent). The Christian Democrats, with 27 per cent of the total vote, took all four seats in one ward and half the seats in two wards (10 per cent). Two other parties with 28 per cent of the vote between them obtained no representation.

There were 26 seats to be filled by the novel feature of the British zone

system described above. Seven of these went to the already heavily over-represented Social Democrats, who were permitted to count almost half their votes at this stage of the election. The Christian Democrats obtained eight of the second-round seats and two other parties obtained seven and four respectively. Even after the slight allowance for minority representation the Social Democrats obtained 75 per cent of the representation with 43 per cent of the votes.

Close Vote against P. R. in South Australia

A bill to establish proportional representation as the provincial electoral system in South Australia was defeated last November upon second reading in the province's House of Assembly by seventeen votes to sixteen. The bill would have divided the state into six electoral districts of approximately equal population, each electing the same number of representatives by proportional representation.

A great deal of the debate on the bill turned on the fact that in South Australia, by virtue of wide disparity in the population of districts, the rural population generally receives from four to six times the representation of urban citizens.

Speaking for the prevailing side, Mr. R. W. Pearson said: "Looking after my district entails considerable trouble and it would not be fair to the electors to increase the size of it. Country people in this state are entitled to the ratio of representation which they enjoy. . . . Proportional representation would destroy that advantage which the country has as against the metropolitan area."

Such arguments might justify giving every representative of rural voters several additional secretaries or assistants to maintain contact with his scattered constituency, but hardly such exaggerated parliamentary power. On this point Mr. W. MacGillivray said in introducing the bill:

"Doubtless I shall be asked whether country people are not entitled to more representation than those in the city. I could never understand why they should be, and I have been a country man all my life."

The vote followed party lines. The party with the majority in the House of Assembly is identified with the political interests of the rural districts.

W. M. Southam, Correspondent Extraordinary

Wilson M. Southam of the *Ottawa Citizen,* a leading figure in the Southam chain of Canadian newspapers, died on August 24 of last year. His going deprived the Canadian P. R. movement of its most active and effective leader since Ronald Hooper, of St. James, Manitoba, had to discontinue his fruitful volunteer work as secretary of the Canadian P. R. Society some years ago.

Mr. Southam performed a unique service through a wide correspondence. Keeping in close touch with political developments throughout the world, he kept up a constant bombardment of the principal figures involved with letters pointing out how an accurate method of representation could help them. In 1943 he distributed widely a pamphlet of his own preparation on the application of P. R. to the problems of world government.

Mr. Southam's *Citizen* was well named. He and it were citizens of the world. Their penetrating editorials and special articles helped to keep democratic principles to the fore in his nation's capital and exerted an influence far beyond his country's borders.

G. H. H.

County and Township . . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Houston and Harris County Merger Debated

Other Communties Discuss City-County Consolidations

THAT all of Harris County, Texas, which includes the city of Houston, should be one large city is the recommendation made by the November term of the grand jury at its final meeting late in January.

"While every law enforcement agency in Harris County seems to be in energetic, conscientious and efficient hands," said Foreman Jesse George in the jury's report, "We must take note of the duplication of effort and of records and the resultant waste motion in a community such as Harris County when each city or town has its mayor and council and its separate police department.

"Thought should be given to the advisability of knitting Harris County into one political unit with one mayor and one police department. The result would be greatly increased over-all efficiency at greatly reduced expense."

This recommendation would mean, were it adopted, the merger of twelve cities in addition to unincorporated villages and communities.

While not prepared at this time to recommend a complete merger of the city and county governments, the executive committee of the Houston Tax Research Association has announced its intention to make "careful studies of the 61 separate governmental agencies and see if efficiency can be improved or maintained at a lower cost without infringing on the democratic rights of the people," reports its executive secretary, William E. Davis, Jr. Nine advisory committees will undertake the research and analysis.

Interest in city-county consolidation in Harris County has recently gained impetus from discussion of the unit system of road consolidation, which has been making headway in Texas counties.

The city of Atlanta and Fulton County have secured the services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to plan the merger of their identification bureaus. The plan anticipates that the county will perform all identification work for city and county while the city will be responsible for radio communications for both governmental units.

An ordinance creating the Northern Virginia Regional Planning Commission has been presented to Arlington, Fairfax and Prince William Counties and to the towns of Alexandria, Falls Church, Fairfax and Herndon. The commission would begin operation as soon as three units of government adopted the ordinance. It would have only advisory powers, and its fields of study would include zoning, road systems, sewage treatment, schools, hospitals and penal institutions. It would be financed by member units in proportion to population. A similar regional planning body, the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission, was established by six units in the Newport News, Virginia, area in 1944.

The 1947 session of the South Dakota legislature authorized county commissioners to purchase and operate fire-fighting equipment in cooperation with townships and municipalities within the county boundaries.

Three Colorado Counties Cooperate on Health

In Colorado, Adams, Arapahoe and Jefferson Counties have formed a Tri-county Health Department. The department is beginning immediately on a survey of sanitary conditions in the three counties.

These three counties already have a Tri-county Regional Planning Commission (see the REVIEW, December 1945, page 585).

Citizens of Santa Clara County Seek Charter Revision

The Citizens Charter Movement of Santa Clara County, California, was organized at a dinner attended by some 150 people on February 2. It hopes to secure adoption of a new county home rule charter by November 1948. One of the group's first moves was the appearance of some 30 civic leaders, led by Assemblyman Robert C. Kirkwood of Saratoga, acting chairman, before the county board of supervisors. The group requested the board to take a stand on whether it will place the question of electing a board of freeholders (charter commission) on the ballot.

Giving impetus to the movement for a home rule charter—Santa Clara County is the largest unit still operating under the general laws of the state—is the recommendation of the 1947 grand jury that the board of supervisors employ a county manager to supervise the county's $25,000,000 annual business. The jury reported that its investigation of county administration discloses that "there is no central authority on our county's management. There is no one to whom any employee can turn or to whom any citizen may go for action outside routine matters."

Progress is being made also in the field of intergovernmental relations. The Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations recently published *A Survey of Public Buildings in San José* and *A Basis for Better Intergovernmental Relations*. One concrete development has been an agreement between city, county, state and federal governments to develop a government center in which all levels of government will participate.

Census Bureau Reports on Finances of Large Counties

The United States Bureau of the Census has taken the 56 counties having a 1940 census of more than 250,000 persons and subjected their finances for 1946 to critical analysis in its recent publication, *Large County Finances in 1946* (twelve pages).

The tables in this report reveal that during their fiscal years ending in 1946 the governments of these counties experienced sharp increases in both general revenue and general expenditure. Compared with 1945, their total revenue was greater by 14.1 per cent and expenditure by 13.9 per cent. Their debt decreased 4.6 per cent.

In 1946 the 56 populous counties covered by the report accounted for three-tenths of the general revenues of all county governments and for nearly two-fifths of all county debt. Of the 116,000,000 persons being served by county governments, according to the 1940 census, 33,000,000, or 29 per cent, live in these large counties.

The $567,000,000 in general revenue received by the 56 largest counties during 1946 was 14.1 per cent more than the $497,000,000 collected in 1945. Taxes yielded $320,000,000 in 1946, 6.2 per cent more than in 1945. The property tax provided $315,000,000, the yield of all other taxes imposed being less than $5,000,000. Aid received from other governments—predominantly state governments—amounted to $167,000,000, as compared with $137,000,000 in 1945, an

increase of 21.9 per cent. Revenue from charges and miscellaneous sources was $80,000,000, an increase of 36.4 per cent over the $58,000,000 collected in 1945.

Capital outlay more than doubled, rising to nearly $29,000,000 in 1946. The increase, shared by 41 of the 56 counties, reflects chiefly the fact that the 1945 amount was abnormally small because of war-induced shortages. Outstanding gross debt of the 56 largest counties dropped in 1946 by $26,000,000, or 4.6 per cent, to $533,000,000.

A companion report, *Summary of County Government Finances in 1946*, is in process.

Missouri County Analyzes Its Almshouse

The Jasper County, Missouri, Tax Economy Association recently completed a detailed survey of the operation of its almshouse.[1] To secure comparative data, it conducted a survey by questionnaire of almshouse operation in 40 Missouri counties. The data collected included the number of employees, annual expenditures, total income and number of inmates.

The survey revealed that the cost per person cared for varied in the 33 counties that responded from a low of $56 to a high of $751 for the year 1946. It indicated that the median cost was approximately $333 per resident, that the average almshouse was slightly more than half full, and that 27 of the 33 institutions produced a part of the food consumed.

A study of the ten-year record of the Jasper County almshouse revealed that the number of county wards in the institution had decreased from 85 to 37 but that the cost per inmate had more than doubled. The report emphasized waste of fuel and inadequate records as serious weaknesses in administration. It criticized continued operation of the farm since able-bodied persons no longer took up residence in the almshouse.

Since the comparative statistics revealed that per capita costs increased as the number of inmates declined, the report recommended that Jasper County take advantage of the provisions of the new constitution to cooperate with other counties in almshouse operation. Since the building of a district almshouse for ten or less contiguous counties after an affirmative vote in each seemed impractical at this time, the report recommended that as an intermediate measure Jasper County enter into a contractual arrangement with another county whereby the wards of both counties would be cared for in one institution. This could be done without a popular referendum.

[1] *Administrative Survey of the Jasper County Almshouse*, Carthage, Missouri, February 1948, 21 pages.

Counties Seek Freedom from 'Smog'

With plenty of California sunshine as its goal, Los Angeles County has started a comprehensive anti-smog program under recent state legislation authorizing creation of a Los Angeles Air Pollution Authority which will have power to license all businesses and industries that generate noxious fumes. Private homes are excepted. Penalties will be imposed through revocation of licenses.

County-wide smoke control also was authorized last year by state action for the metropolitan areas of Milwaukee and Pittsburgh.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Increased New York State Budget Sought

Governor Submits Request for Eight Hundred Million

ON JANUARY 30 Governor Thomas E. Dewey submitted his executive budget for 1948-49 to the New York State legislature. It provides for expenditures for general state and local assistance purposes totaling $753,543,000, earmarking an additional $47,750,000 of income taxes and cigarette taxes for service on veterans' bonus bonds as authorized by constitutional amendment last November. The total of $801,000,000 exceeded the budget adopted for 1947-48 by $148,000,000.

Of the total, $331,000,000 is requested for strictly state purposes including debt service, $422,000,000 is for assistance to local units including aid to schools, and $47,750,000 represents earmarked revenues dedicated to payment of veterans' bonus bonds. For fiscal 1947-48, expenditures are estimated at $317,000,000 for state purposes, $390,000,000 for local assistance, and $5,000,000 to be set aside for the veterans' bonus fund.

The governor estimated that no new revenues would be required to finance the state-local budget. Under the veterans' bonus amendment, however, a one cent per pack increase in the state cigarette tax has already become effective while the rate for personal income taxes will be raised 20 per cent for the same purpose. The income tax increase means that whereas the taxpayer has previously deducted 50 per cent from his tax as computed at prewar rates—the device adopted by the legislature instead of a reduction in rates—now only 40 per cent will be deducted in computing the tax payable. Whereas the personal income tax yielded $114,000,000 in fiscal 1946-47 and is estimated to produce $137,500,000 for 1947-48 (including $2,500,000 for the bonus fund), for 1948-49 the yield is expected to be $186,000,000, divided $155,000,000 at the regular rate and $31,000,000 from the 20 per cent increase dedicated to the bonus fund.

Indicative of the extent to which rising costs have made themselves felt in the budget is the dwindling of surplus revenues. In 1946-47 receipts exceeded expenditures by $58,700,000. Although 1947-48 revenues are expected to exceed original estimates by $42,000,000, expenditures will exceed appropriations, cutting the budgeted surplus for the year from $4,300,000 to $1,800,000. For 1948-49, receipts are anticipated to exceed expenditures by $5,100,000.

New Jersey Governor Asks New Revenues

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey on February 2 submitted to the legislature a budget totaling $151,000,000, $6,000,000 below that for the current year. At the same time he asked a $46,000,000 cut in payroll taxes for unemployment compensation and proposed new tax increases totaling $37,000,000 for other purposes.

The proposed new revenues include a cigarette tax of three cents per pack, estimated to yield $14,200,000; a tax of $1.50 per $1,000 on gross receipts of business, estimated to produce $19,500,000; an increase of one and a half cents per gallon in the tax on beer, estimated to provide an additional $1,800,000; and an increase in the

state's share of pari-mutuel betting from 4 to 5 per cent of the first $50,000,000 for each track each season, estimated to yield an additional $1,500,000. The increased revenues would go $10,000,000 to school districts and $1,000,000 to cities and counties for highway purposes. The other $140,000,000 asked in the budget was for "normal expenditures," including nearly $18,000,000 for capital improvements.

Roanoke Appeals Realty Decision

Constitutionality of the Roanoke, Virginia, real estate transfer tax, held invalid by the local court, will be determined by the Virginia Supreme Court, which has agreed to hear the city's arguments to set aside the lower court verdict.

The tax was imposed by the city in April 1947, at the rate of $1 on each $100 or fraction thereof of the value of property transferred from one owner to another. Estimated to produce $60,000 annually, the city had received nearly $53,000 when a test case was brought by the Roanoke Real Estate Board. Judge Dirk Kuyk of Roanoke Hustings Court ruled that the tax was an ad valorem property tax and as such violated the uniformity clause of the state constitution.

New York City Valuations Raised

New York City's tentative assessed valuations for 1948-49, announced the end of January, total $17,684,000,000, an increase of nearly $746,000,000 over 1947-48 valuations. The new valuation exceeds slightly that for 1939-40 and is the second consecutive increase, the 1947-48 valuation having been lifted just over $1,000,000 above 1946-47.

Of this year's increase of nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars, $436,000,000 was for equalization, $142,000,000 for new construction other than utilities, $37,000,000 for improvements to privately-owned buildings, and $74,000,000 for improvements to utility property.

City Forest Furnishes Money for Schools

Profits from the municipal forest owned by Troy, Maine, have enabled the city to finance the rebuilding of schools. The experience of Troy is typical of a growing number of cities which have started municipal forests, frequently on tax delinquent land, the American Public Works Association reports.

Over two thousand municipal forests in the country are protecting city watersheds, providing wild-life conservation areas and producing timberland for cities on a sustained yield basis.

The idea of municipal forests originated in Europe. An 8,000-acre tract belonging to the city of Berne, Switzerland, valued at $2,000,000, yields an annual income to the city of $300,000. Seattle, in this country, has one of the largest municipal forests, with 83,000 acres under long-range development.

Larger Pay Checks for City Workers

Wage and salary increases to help employees meet inflated living costs are still being granted by cities this year, according to a report by the Municipal Finance Officers Association. Percentage increases and increases of a flat amount monthly or annually are each represented.

In Cleveland the mayor agreed to grant pay raises to municipal employees which will cost $2,100,000 this year. Fire and police personnel received a yearly increase of $240 plus six new holidays to be added to the

(Continued on page 184)

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . . *Edited by James E. Gates*

Britain Revives Parish Council

Newly Organized National Association Holds Meeting

LONDON recently witnessed a gathering of 2,000 villagers, men and women, who were delegates to the first conference of the newly formed National Association of Parish Councils. They had come from the remotest parts of England and Wales to discuss the problems of that smallest unit of government, the parish council, and to give a demonstration of its existence and vitality.

Townsmen usually associate the parish with a country parson and some local churchgoers. It must have seemed strange to them then that Mr. Herbert Morrison, leader of the House of Commons, left a cabinet meeting in order to address a gathering of parish councillors. The Minister of Education was there, too, and Lord Justice Scott, a leading judge of appeal, left his court for the day to preside over the conference as the first chairman of the new association.

The key to this lies in the peculiar place the parish occupies in the constitutional and political framework of England. At the decline of the feudal system the parish was an ecclesiastical unit; it was responsible for the upkeep of the church and soon for poor relief as well. Expenditures and taxes were voted, and the churchwardens were elected in a democratic way by the parish meeting. But more and more duties were heaped on these earliest and smallest democratic units of self-government, until they were unable to carry the burden and fulfil their tasks efficiently.

The industrial revolution and the "age of reason" saw a strong central control imposed on reformed local authorities. This almost completely strangled the parishes, their powers being transferred to greater units, to central departments, county councils, boroughs and district authorities. The parish remained a unit in ecclesiastical life; but even when the parish council was re-established and given some limited powers by the local government act of 1894 it did not recover its former vitality.

One obstacle was the continuous exodus from the country towards industrial centers.

Another obstacle to an effective revival can be found by comparing the parish council with those continental local authorities which have a tradition of self-government. On the continent, generally speaking, the "universality principle" determines and restricts the activities of local authorities. In other words, they may do practically anything that legislation does not forbid, or anything not transferred to other authorities.

In England, on the other hand, local authorities are allowed to do only what legislation has expressly authorized. In many cases they do not even know the full extent of all their powers scattered through the statute books.

The new Association of Parish Councils will help to put that right. It is now making thorough inquiries into the needs of parishes; it intends to promote legislation to implement their powers and put all the necessary information at their disposal.

Another difficulty of the parish council is that its financial resources are extremely limited. In a number

of countries, local authorities draw their revenues from the local income tax and other direct taxations. But English parishes may levy taxes of only fourpence (eight cents)—or in certain cases eightpence (sixteen cents)—on the pound (four dollars). That means roughly 1.7 per cent—or 3.4 per cent—of the rents paid on premises. This will not go very far.

The new association will try to increase the taxing powers of parish councils and facilitate borrowing, and the Minister of Education has assured the conference of both his moral and financial support. With his assistance, as well as that of other departments, parish councils may well get the necessary grants for playing fields and reading rooms, recreation grounds and village halls.

In Britain new social life is growing up in the villages. The parish councils are considered to be the very cells of democratic education and the interest of the young generation is being attracted to them. Beyond all political doctrines it is dawning upon all concerned that "without local communal institutions a nation can give itself a free government but it has not the spirit of freedom." So Alexis de Tocqueville said more than a hundred years ago, and it is just as true today.

PIERRE DOBBERT

Is There a Future for Local Government?

In his comments upon an address entitled "Is There a Future for Local Government," by Professor F. A. Bland, the Secretary of the Local Government Association of New South Wales, A. Mainerd, remarked:

"Professor Bland argued that local government, with its belief in local responsibility and local diversity of operation and administration, was incompatible with centralized control and administrative uniformity, that the trends toward centralization would ultimately leave to local government only the chores of administration, with the substance of power concentrated in state instrumentalities and central authority. Unless this trend be reversed by the devolution of more powers to local government, the early end of local government as a local institution was inevitable. . . .

"What is the background of this trend toward the creation of more and more state instrumentalities in preference to the granting of greater powers to local government? In my judgment, it is a failure by those responsible to appreciate the work of local government and its essential place in a democratic community. . . . With the growing complexities of our daily lives and the need for urgent satisfaction of community wants, there is an impatience in some quarters with the working of the democratic system and a turning toward authoritarianism. . . . Local government has . . . . found itself unable to adjust its organization and structure to meet urgent public needs. This weakness is inherent in the system, but it must be faced and resolved. . . .

"The destiny of local government is as it should be—largely in its own hands. Given vigorous and united leadership by local government, the people will support it and the future of local government will be assured."

Britain Takes Final Steps on Social Security

The National Assistance Bill is the final step in the British government's comprehensive scheme of social security, divided into five parts: (1) Family Allowances Act, 1945; (2) National Insurance (Industrial Injuries

Act), 1946; (3) National Insurance Act, 1946; (4) National Health Service Act, 1946; and now (5) the National Assistance Bill. There may also be a sixth enactment regarding the public care of children.

The object of the National Assistance Bill is to accomplish the final breakup of the poor law and to round out the government's schemes of social services which are finally to come fully into operation as of July 5, 1948. Any consideration of the bill must be in connection with the other acts. Its financing, too, can be considered only in connection with the Local Government Bill, which contemplates a proposed complete recasting of financial relations between the Exchequer and local authorities.

There are two main features of the new bill, as indicated in the preamble:

(1) A single comprehensive service of national assistance under the National Assistance Board;

(2) Provision of residential accommodation for the aged, the infirm and others who require care and attention with special welfare services for certain handicapped persons. This is to be a local government function entrusted to the councils of counties and county boroughs, with a local rate charge subject to some Exchequer assistance in respect of new buildings.

All local government responsibility for the relief of destitution is to give place to the new national assistance which will take the form mainly of financial aid to those persons whose needs are not otherwise met by national insurance or other source.

The new unified state service of national assistance will replace:

(1) Unemployment assistance now paid by the Assistance Board to insurable unemployed persons not qualified for benefit or whose benefit is insufficient for their needs;

(2) Supplementary pensions now paid by the board to old-age and widow pensioners;

(3) Domiciliary assistance now paid by local authorities to registered blind persons;

(4) Tuberculosis treatment allowances now paid by local authorities on behalf of the Exchequer to certain persons suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis;

(5) Outdoor relief now paid by local authorities.

There are those who would say that this is the final phase in an evolutionary process which, though slow, has been steady. Originally, and prior to the Reformation, the care of the poor and needy was left entirely to private charity, in which the church took a prominent part. In the days of Queen Elizabeth the foundations of the existing poor law system were built, and the burden of maintaining the destitute was placed upon the parish in which they lived. In 1834 Boards of Guardians came into existence and the burden was removed from the parish to a union of parishes. In 1929 it was transferred to the counties and the county boroughs. At each stage the burden has been moved to a wider area and with this new bill the country seems to have arrived at the final change, from the local to the ultimate central authority.

England Reports on Local Government Publicity

The British Ministry of Health has recently issued its Interim Report of the Consultative Committee on Publicity for Local Government. The report is in part a summary of monthly discussions held during the major portion of 1947. The committee discussed aims and methods, services available through the media of information centers, press, exhibitions,

public meetings and films, and a tentative program of films to be produced by the Central Office of Information is outlined.

Relations between local councils and the local press are considered at length, good will on both sides being necessary if there is to be established full information on the one hand and accurate reporting on the other. Civic news sheets were considered to be unsatisfactory as a substitute for a working relationship with the press.

The committee concludes that very large sums could not be usefully spent on centralized publicity for local governments: that, in the main, local government publicity must be undertaken locally, must be developed from the bottom up, and cannot be forced into a general mold applicable to all cities. Needed is improvement and extension of all the channels of communication of local government to the public which it serves.

Merger of Hospital Boards Discussed in North Auckland

Excessive hospital rates have brought to a head the problem of amalgamation of several hospital boards in the Northland of New Zealand. An inquiry was conducted recently at which there seemed to be general agreement that better service would be the result of such a merger. There was a feeling, however, that there might also be a surrender of local autonomy, that district hospitals would lose local support and would tend to lose their identity in the larger organization. It was agreed that the most important aim was improvement of the hospital service but that local authorities would be happy if certain local autonomies were retained.

Costs of Municipal Services Increase in Canada

Although between 1933 and 1946 the cost of municipal debt service and the cost of public welfare declined in Canada, the savings have been more than eaten up in other activities. There was a net over-all increase of 14.4 per cent in service costs for the period. The distribution was as follows:

Service	*1933*	*1946*	*Per Cent Increase*
	(millions of $)		
Schools	73.4	100.0	36.2
Public Welfare	53.9	44.6	—17.3
Highways, etc.	22.7	46.0	102.6
Protective service	78.6	104.6	33.0
Debt charges	91.5	71.1	—22.2
Totals	320.1	366.3	14.4

Housing and Town Planning Congress to Meet

The nineteenth International Congress for Housing and Town Planning will be held at Zurich, Switzerland, June 20-26. According to a preliminary program issued by the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, subjects for discussion will include financial aid to housing, national and regional planning of town and countryside, housing progress and methods employed to promote it, and the financial relation of planning to ownership. An exhibition of Swiss housing and planning will be opened during the congress and visits in and around Zurich are being planned for delegates.

Books in Review

Public Utility Regulation. By Herman H. Trachsel. Chicago, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1947. x, 538 pp. $5.

A very complete and well documented statement of the history and methods of the regulation of privately owned utilities in the United States, written with textbook clarity and objectiveness and with obvious authority. Controversial issues are faced coolly but briefly; e.g., the old question of whether regulatory commissions should sit back like courts and wait for complainants to submit and sustain their complaints or should take over the burden of initiating action and accumulating proofs. Its wealth of facts and instances make it a reference classic.

The author concludes: "There is a wide variation in the extent and effectiveness of control which the states have provided. A dozen or so can be rated as having strong commissions and are doing a creditable job of regulating. The others range from very mediocre regulation down to none at all for some of the important utilities. . . . The original conception of the commission as an aggressive administrative agency representing the public interest must be revived. . . .

"The principle of assessing the costs of regulation against the utilities which are regulated appears to be entirely just and equitable. It places the cost of regulation squarely upon those who benefit from it. Experience has shown that the commissions which obtain a substantial part of their funds from assessments against the utilities have fared much better than those depending to a greater extent upon legislative appropriations.

"Furthermore, direct assessments have had a very good effect on the utilities themselves. If the funds of the commissions are definitely limited, there is an advantage for a company to prolong the hearings and investigations as long as possible in order to exhaust the funds and bring an end to the investigation. When the costs are assessed against the utilities, they know the funds will not be exhausted and that the investigation can continue as long as necessary at their expense. The utilities have been quick to realize this situation and are therefore much more willing to make the rate reductions and in other ways meet the requirements of the commissions."

RICHARD S. CHILDS

The Citizen and Government. By John A. Hawgood. London, Nicholson and Watson, 1947. 128 pp. 6s.

This author takes the dismal science of politics as currently seen in England and illustrates it with many photographs and isotypes in color to turn it into swift reading for the laity. Diagrams are frequently much clearer than words. It should make a vivid textbook for a high school student.

The little book deals entirely with the phenomena of the voters in relation to their government, the open field for speculation on human nature, mass psychology and the mechanism of the ballot. The English voter only votes now and then for a single officer —member of the municipal council or member of Parliament—so the problem is vastly simpler than in a country like ours where the voter may face a ballot that demands expression of 50 choices.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to see what the conditions are that an informed student finds to bewail. He is disturbed, for example, about the frequency of elections with only a 30 per cent turnout of voters. This happens to be a common figure in Dayton, Ohio, for instance, which has

been getting good government for a third of a century, nevertheless. Perhaps it is not a calamity if those who don't care stay away, despite the risk of getting fooled if one section of the public gets unexpectedly animated when the rest are languid.

The volume deserves examination for its graphic technique as well as for its interesting revelations of the mysterious ways of British voters.

R. S. C.

New City Patterns. The Analysis of and a Technique for Urban Reintegration. By S. E. Saunders and A. J. Rabuck. New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1946. 205 pp. Illus. $8.

Scattered throughout with half-tone illustrations and diagrams, this work is devoted to a discussion of the organization of metropolitan planning commissions and the methods they must follow to insure that each new improvement fits into a predetermined plan. Much attention is given to parks, greenbelts and playgrounds as well as community shopping and parking areas. Emphasis is placed on the necessity for through highways. The book is practical and realistic and should appeal not only to the planner but to the interested layman.

Housing and Citizenship. A Study of Low-Cost Housing. By George Herbert Gray. Foreword by C.-E. A. Winslow. New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1946. xiv, 254 pp. Illus. $7.50.

This is a thorough-going survey of all phases of the housing problem. The author has as his thesis that healthy and responsible citizenship is dependent on adequate living accommodations for the masses. He analyzes the factors which have brought about present housing conditions in U. S. cities and presents a plan for future low-cost development. He also discusses housing in England, Holland, Russia, France and the Scandinavian countries. The volume is well illustrated with some 47 full-page plates and numerous graphs and tables.

Democratic Government and Politics. By J. A. Corry. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1946. vii, 468 pp. $3.75.

In this volume the author presents a comparative view of the governments of Great Britain, the United States and Canada as a background for discussing recent developments in democratic government and assessing their significance, as well as for analyzing the politics of democracy.

The Small Community Looks Ahead. By Wayland J. Hayes. New York 17, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947. xii, 276 pp. $3.

A thoughtful review of small community phenomena, with some interesting and well described cases of how small rural communities sometimes go to seed and how some of them were revived to help themselves. A readable contribution to community psychology.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Airports

General Principles of Airfield Snow Removal. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Civil Aeronautics Administration, 1947. 24 pp.

1947-48 Federal Airport Program. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Office of Airports, 1947. 144 pp.

Regulations for Administering Federal Airport Act. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Civil

Aeronautics Administration, 1947. Variously paged.

Building Codes

Information on Sources of Material for Use in Preparing and Revising Local Building Codes. By the Building Code Correlating Committee. New York 17, American Standards Association, 1947. 31 pp.

Civil Rights

To Secure These Rights. The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. xii, 178 pp. $1.

Directories

Delaware State Manual—Official List of Officers, Boards, Commissions and County Officers 1948. Dover, Delaware, Secretary of State, 1948. 62 pp.

Directory of Territorial Agencies and Officers, Territory of Hawaii. Honolulu 10, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1947. iv, 59 pp.

Housing

Out of Balance. 1946-1947 Annual Report. Memphis, Tennessee, Housing Authority, 1947. 32 pp. Illus.

Industrial Development

Partners—Industry and the Tennessee Community. A Guide to Community Industrial Development. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1947. 44 pp. $1.

Parking

Factual Guide on Automobile Parking for the Smaller Cities. Washington, D. C., Public Roads Administration, 1947. Variously paged.

Full Summary of Report Analyzes Pasadena's Critical Parking Needs. Pasadena, Automobile Parking Association, 1947. 15 pp.

Parking Primer for Pasadena. Pasadena, Automobile Parking Association, 1947. 12 pp.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, neighborhood improvement and conservation of natural resources, including addresses, discussions and round tables presented at the Citizens Conference on Planning, held at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 28, 29, 30, 1947, and the papers given at the National Park Conference held in Washington, D. C., April 1, 1947. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1947. ix, 214 pp. $3.

New York State Postwar Public Works Planning Commission—Final Report. Albany, the Commission, 1947. 144 pp.

Residential Areas. An Analysis of Land Requirements for Residential Development 1945 to 1970. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1947. 137 pp.

State Government

The Government of New Mexico. By Thomas C. Donnelly. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1947. vi, 330 pp.

North Carolina—The State and Its Government. By Paul W. Wager. New York, Oxford Book Company, 1947. iv, 124 pp. 67 cents.

Taxation and Finance

The Federal Reserve System—Its Purpose and Functions. Second Edition. Washington 25, D. C., Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 1947. 125 pp.

Governmental Accounting. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association. *Municipal Finance,* Feb. 1948, 32 pp. 50 cents.

State Sales Tax Activity; State Tax Study Commissions; Total Tax Collections in 1946. New York, Tax Institute, 1947. 7, 11, and 8 pp. respectively. 25 cents each.

State Tax Collections in 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 10 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1947. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1947. 36 pp. 50 cents.

Summary of City Government Finances in 1946. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1947. 11 pp.

Traffic Safety

Toledo Traffic Code. An Ordinance No. 37-38, Enacted Feb. 5, 1948. Toledo, Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, 1948. 48 pp.

Winter Accident Prevention. Report of Committee on Winter Driving Hazards. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1947. 23 pp.

Transit

Transportation Greater Winnipeg 1946; Transit Greater Winnipeg 1946. Preliminary Reports—Part of Metropolitan Plan for Greater Winnipeg. Winnipeg, Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Planning Commission, 1946. 41 and 43 pp. respectively.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 176)

annual furloughs. White-collar employees will get a $180 annual raise if they earn under $3,000 a year, or an increase of 6.5 per cent if they are paid more than $3,000 annually.

The Pittsburgh council earmarked $1,200,000 for municipal salary raises effective in January. Largest increases went to employees receiving $2,000 a year or less. Employees paid $3,000 or more received a flat $150 annual increase.

Chicago's record budget for 1948 includes pay increases of 8.5 per cent for municipal employees earning less than $5,000 a year, plus raises averaging $300 a year for higher paid employees.

All city employees in Omaha have been given a flat $15 per month wage boost. The increase will affect approximately 1,260 workers—civilian, police and fire personnel—and will cost the city an estimated $250,000 this year.

Taking action to eliminate inequalities in municipal pay scales as well as boost salaries, East Orange, New Jersey, passed an ordinance effective this month revising salaries on the basis of civil service recommendations.

Employees of Pueblo, Colorado, have received a 20 per cent salary increase. Miles City, Montana, workers have been granted a $25 monthly pay boost retroactive to July 1.

In Denver the average monthly pay of municipal employees increased during the past year from $136 to $186. Further pay increases for 1948 are being considered.

Seventeen cities, meanwhile, were continuing cost-of-living adjustment plans which provide for automatic pay adjustments at least once a year proportionate to fluctuations in the consumers' price index computed by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Among these cities are Madison, Wisconsin; Duluth, Minnesota, and Portland, Oregon.